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MODERN RUSSIA.

MODERN RUSSIA:

COMPRISING

RUSSIA UNDER ALEXANDER II.

RUSSIAN COMMUNISM.

THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH AND ITS SECTS.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA.

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Russia under Alexander II.

I.

'862 to 1862! A thousand years in the existence of Russia! The bell has sounded! It is not the death-toll of a dying race, but the call to re-awaken to new life, rung out to all Slavonic peoples: a re-born, regenerate life, the eve of which we celebrated on the 19th February 1861.'

'Give us a hand, brothers'!

'We are beginning a new millenary, consequently at the same time a new existence. Have you heard the voice from above, which has awakened the nation's twenty millions? Listen to the sound of this voice: it came from the heart, and by the heart alone can you understand it.

'It was a breath of life, which wafted the nation on a new course; the trumpet, as of the last judgment, which has aroused the dead.

'It remains for us to conceive the importance of the present moment, to grasp its true meaning, in order not to err further in future, nor to repeat again the millennium that is past. The smallest mistake would hereafter be bitterly avenged.'

These words appeared on the 1st January 1862, at the head of the St. Petersburg Gazette, and strikingly denoted the feelings and ideas, with which the educated and the semi-educated portion of Russian society greeted that year, which

concluded the first millennium of the existence of Russia, and formed at the same time the entrance on a new era. The vague extravagance, expressed in these words of the Panslavist Kostomarov, was at that time the language of ordinary life in Russia. The instinctive foreboding, that the remodeling of the agrarian laws afforded an opportunity, not again recurring, for the new birth of the political and social life of Russia, the conviction of the untenable and unserviceable character of the state of things generally; and lastly, the proud hope of obtaining the highest aims, by the combination of all the Slavo-Russ forces, and of forming a new epoch in the history of the world, a Slavonic peasant-empire, and of being able to overleap the intervening stages, at which other states were halting: — such were the thoughts, which, in January 1862, filled the minds of those, who had grown up under Nicolas in mute obedience to the old system; who had witnessed the fearful bankruptcy of the absolute military state, and had lived to see, in the course of a few years, the awakening of public opinion, the abolition of serfdom, and the beginning of a passionately excited era of reform.

During the course of the first few years of the reign of Alexander the second, a feverish excitement had taken possession of all classes of Russian society, and had encreased from year to year. No sooner had the conviction gained ground; that government was inclined to break with the old system, and to join in that advance, which was swaying the rest of Europe, and which had been rejected under Nicolas as a revolutionary error; than, in every end and corner of the immense empire, a reaction arose against the fearful creed of despotism, and the mute submission of the epoch of Nicolas, a reaction more energetic and reckless than can be imagined. Accustomed to receive every impulse from without, and blindly to submit to the order

issued by government, Russia had entered on the Eastern war, with a firm faith in the irresistibility of her arms, and in the infallibility of her prevailing system. That the sovereign; whose will, for a quarter of a century, had influenced not only Russia, but the greater part of the European continent; who defied alone the storms of revolution, stifled every free thought at its birth, and had attained, without opposition, every aim set before him: that he could issue, otherwise than as victor, from the contest with France and England, leagued as they were in support of the Crescent; appeared inconceivable to the greater number of those, who had hailed with rejoicing the advance of the Tzar into the Danubian principalities. A believing devotion, which possessed no other basis than confidence in one man, was in the nature of the matter dependent on success; and when this decided against the tzar, the structure fell to the ground, which Nicolas had been for half a generation raising, in order to concentrate the eyes of his subjects exclusively and admiringly on himself, and to divert them from all participation in that which was going on in the rest of Europe. When his successor afterwards put his hand to the work; not to unite anew the ruins of the old building, but to pull down the foundation that still remained, in order to rebuild the whole after an altered plan; all those, who had never known any other rule of action and thought, than that of the infallibility of the Imperial will, felt as if the world were lifted from its axis, and removed into a new ecliptic. And the number of those who, having grown up in thoughtless worship of the idol of the day, had no idea of the independent activity of the citizen of the state, overbalanced all others. The old system had so completely drawn the existing powers into the service of the state, and of the ideas that

wayed it, that the supposition was natural, that the life, of the nation had become extinct also with the old *régime*. There were, it is true, powers still remaining, which had existed, independent of the Imperial will; but it remained to be seen, whether these were capable of adapting themselves to the mighty task of rearing a new structure. The wisest in the nation saw for a time their only safety, in the negation of all that they had hitherto regarded as rule and standard; and according to that law of mutual outvying, which usually asserts its sway after any violent disruption; those who endeavoured to take the lead in public opinion, sought for the bitterest form of condemnation of the overthrown idols; for this alone seemed to lead the way to a better future. A universal desertion of colors began, an apostasy from the old traditions, in which those distinguished themselves the most, who had been most conspicuous for slavish devotion to the demands of military despotism; and the masses, accustomed blindly to follow as they were led, were carried away, without even having an idea of the object, the attainment of which was aimed at by those who regarded themselves as the leaders.

That this change could be accomplished so suddenly, and apparently so unaided, may be explained; both by the fearful extent of the defeat, which the old system experienced in the Crimean war, and by the the condition of public affairs during the latter years of the reign of the Emperor Nicolas. After the victorious conclusion of the short Hungarian campaign, the roughness and self-glorification of the aged sovereign had encreased to such an insufferable degree; that a sense of this had become general, and had become so universally felt; that the most devoted and confidential of the imperial counsellors had been inclined in secret to doubt the responsibility of the monarch. After

the death of the minister of finance, Count Cancrin, the only man who had preserved a certain independence of mind up to the close of his labors; Nicolas had become incapable of enduring any opposition, or even the slightest doubt, as to the infallibility of his opinion: not only the actions and thoughts of his subjects, but the laws of national economy, and of the circulation of money, he desired to regulate with arbitrary rule, and to constrain into obedience to his will. Characteristically enough, with the arrogant words, 'I will help you,' he obliged the privy-councillor Vrontshenko, who was pleading his own inability, to undertake a financial appointment, which urgently required re-modeling. His aversion, not unmixed with fear, of the revolutionary ideas, which he imagined he saw pervading west-European life, led to a system of seclusion and inertness; which became daily more harmful, and speedily made its consequences felt in all branches of political life. From the year 1848, the third division of the Imperial administration (the political police) under the direction of Alexis Orlov, was actually the supreme authority of the Empire, the main-spring of the government machine. To pay respect to their boundless authority, was the order of the emperor; and to this order the representatives of all other branches, whatever their names, must submit; the minister of war was as subject to their control, as the minister of instruction, of the interior, or of justice. The idea of the abolition of serfdom, which the emperor had for some time entertained, was completely relinquished, after the year of revolution, and was sacrificed to 'higher views.' Even consideration for the army, which had ever lain nearest the emperor's heart, had not been able to effect the freedom of the peasant-class, indispensable as this had long become for a thousand reasons. Whilst throughout

the rest of Europe, by the system of reserves and substitutes, had been introduced the possibility of a diminished force in times of peace effecting a reduction of the expenses for military matters; from the adoption of this system, which opened a new era in the science of war, Russia had been withheld by the law of serfdom. According to the existing laws, every serf, who entered the army, gained liberty for himself and his children; but he could not make use of this liberty, until he received leave of absence, or discharge. This arrangement necessitated the endless duration of the period of service for 25 years, and the decay and uselessness of the greater part of the active army; the majority of the older soldiers, physically and morally injured by the miserable condition of their maintenance, and the inhuman severity of their discipline, were scarcely serviceable in the field; while from the want of bodies of reserve, the formation of new troops, in case of war, was not possible, without affecting the whole army. That the immense duration of the army, the great length of the period of service, absorbed a disproportionate portion of the working powers of the scantily-peopled empire, was a matter of course; but this was a matter of secondary consideration. Nicolas, who had ever regarded the maintenance of the military greatness of Russia as his principal task, had in no wise overlooked the importance of this point; three different times, in the years 1826, 1836, and 1839, secret committees for the discussion of a remodeling of the agrarian laws had been established; and had on each occasion been terminated, at the decisive moment, with the stereotyped phrase that 'the circumstances of the time rendered further entering into the subject impossible,': the emperor could not at any price reconcile himself to the idea of a thorough remodeling, though this might only concern the relations of peasants to their masters.

If even military matters were thus completely swayed by regard to the 'conservative' tendencies of the sovereign; so that their perfection were rather relinquished, than the chaos of existing circumstances disturbed; it is evident, what lot must have befallen the other branches of political life, which had been always treated by the emperor with a certain hostility. Since the Hungarian war, no mention was even ventured on of a further extension of the net of railroads; the strictness of the separation from other countries, and from all that was imported from them, became more rigid; and every advance in foreign intercourse was treated as an evil. The well known facts; that the prohibitive system during the years 1848 to 1854 overpassed the vast limits appointed it by Cancrin; that the power of the censor laid its ban upon almost all the more distinguished productions of German, French, and English literature, and on 90 per cent of all the organs of the west-Europaan press; that travelling abroad was possible only by direct permission from the emperor, and by the payment of a sum of 500 Rubles; that foreign artists and scholars had to contend with the greatest difficulties, in order to penetrate into the thinly populated empire, which so urgently needed them: all these facts need scarcely to be repeated, to illustrate the gloomy character of the period, which intervened between the manifesto against the 'heathens' of the West, and the day of the Emperor's death. The oppression had reached a height, of which even the younger generation of the present inhabitants of Russia can scarcely form an idea. The hostility to the ideas of the West exhibited by all, who desired to lay claim to the emperor's favor, degenerated into open ridicule of all science and culture, of all scientific thought and investigation. Not only, in the years 1849 and 1850, was the number of the students in the Russ universities limited to 300 in each,

and the university tutors prohibited from following the progress, which science or art was making in the rest of Europe; not only were the most famous compendiums and school-books forbidden, and the professorships of philosophy, and of general public law, abolished; not only were academical bodies no longer led by self-elected rectors, but by officials appointed by the emperor; while students were treated as cadets, and condemned to learn by heart papers confirmed by the ministers; but ridicule and contempt was the lot of those, who devoted themselves to science, or to any vocation whatever, which had no direct relation to the army or to the bureaucracy. Only once within 25 years had the Emperor visited the university of St. Petersburg, and this in the year 1854, when the students were obliged to submit to military exercises, in order to be able in case of necessity to take part in the defence of the country. It is well-known, that the Emperor made no concealment of his contempt for the arts and sciences of peace, but that he manifested his aversion with military rudeness. While ignorant generals almost exclusively stood at the head of affairs, technical advance and perfection, even in the military branches of the administration, were not to be thought of. Even the necessity for this perfection might only stealthily be mentioned. If the emperor fell into violent anger, when the fearful corruption of the courts of justice and administration (a corruption which had reached its height every where on account of the blind system of subordination), became perceptible from some specially striking instance; it was yet known, that he regarded the criticism of existing institutions as a prerogative belonging to the absolute sovereign, and during the latter years of his reign it was regardlessly carried on. No other Russia was there to be, but the official regulated by *ucaz;* and even this was veiled in an impenetrable silence. Promotions, remu-

nerations, and government decrees, formed the almost exclusive contents of the newspapers published in the Empire. Even the heading of local and police notices was seen with reluctance, and was strictly controled by the censors (since the year 1852 they had been watched over by a secret committee of censorship); literary criticism and dramatic art were the only forms of journalism suffered. Political notices, from abroad or at home, could only be taken from the organs of the government. During the ten years preceding the emperor's death, the severity against every thing, which even looked like a criticism of the arrangements of the government, was so suspiciously and unrelentingly used, that the censor of the 'Northern Bee' received a reprimand, because he had permitted a paper in his journal, complaining of the inconvenience of the cast-iron garden-seats in the park of Tçarskoye-Selo: these seats had been cast after a design approved of by the Emperor!

The fear of a displeasing glance, from the severe and cold eye of the inexorable ruler, lay like a magic ban upon all minds; and it was no exaggeration, when a French writer of that time asserted, that there never was a man so feared as this monarch, whose honest, but limited nature, in full belief, that 'obedience to superiors' must be the highest demand of all conservative policy, had transformed the empire into a whitened sepulchre. Mute and motionless, the productive classes were obliged to submit to spoliation in favor of the army and the bureaucracy; while the aristocracy, gathered round the sovereign and his vicegerents, endeavoured to deaden the feeling of their degradation in frantic orgies. The 'Journey to St. Petersburg', by General von Gagern, contains a masterly delineation of the Bacchanalian doings, with which the court diverted the grandees, in order to hinder their participation in more

serious interests: ten times a day the programme of the day was altered, so that no one was master even of a single hour. The sons of more distinguished families were actually prohibited, from entering any other than a military career: the service in the guard led, moreover, surely to rank and advancement, the only aims of aristocratic ambition. The few young people, who had been permitted to enjoy the benefit of education abroad, were obliged to be prepared for suspicious observation on their return, and indeed to be harshly addressed by the Emperor himself, on account of their 'un-Russian' manners or attire. The lesser noble in the provinces was condemned to imitate the denizen of the court, according to the whims of the governors-general, and to pine away in military service, or in the lower departments of the bureaucracy; the ill-treatment of his peasants was the only expression of free will, left at his disposal; for not to enter the service of the state, was identical with the loss of most part of the rights of the noble. From his youth up, the Russ nobleman was educated in the faith, that military service was his hereditary vocation, and an imperial smile his highest attainable object. Families, known at the court, scarcely ventured to send their children to the universities: in these interdicted nurseries of science they might he infected with liberal ideas, which infallibly led to Sibiria, or to the silent casemates of the fortress of Peter-Paul!

Not only had the narrowness, severity, and one-sidedness of the Emperor's views encreased in a fearful manner during the last ten years of his life, but the unfavorable influence, which these exercised on the state-machine, had become more perceptible than ever. The generation, that had grown up under his iron rule, had succeeded by degrees to the higher offices; and a sensible retrograde was apparent, owing to the

want of independent judgment and technical culture. Accustomed from youth up, to see in the fulfilment of the Imperial wishes, the highest duty of man, and in the careful obedence to prescribed rules respecting uniform and discipline, the surest way to rank and distinction; the younger servants of the state were unable even to maintain the system transmitted to them, on the same level which it had occupied, at the time in which some of those trained in the school of Alexander I. had taken part in affairs. The younger officials were distinguished by a want of knowledge, by a superficiality and frivolity, which even alarmed the older contemporaries of the Emperor; what could be expected from people, who had never been allowed the free use of physical and chemical instruments, in the universities or public schools, in order to be able to exhibit them, in the most unsullied possible condition, in case of a sudden Imperial visit? And yet the weal or woe of the whole state was exclusively dependent on this bureaucracy; for to none of the several functions of government activity, did a corresponding flood of private work run parallel. While in the rest of Europe, private schools vied with public ones, and great industrial institutions wrestled for the palm with financial and administrative offices, and jurisprudence was cultivated as much by advocates and professional students as by the judges; in Russia, it was the crown, that is, the bureaucracy, from which all safety, all activity was expected. The salutary competition of private individuals was systematically repressed and set aside, because it was found troublesome and inconvenient. Added to this, the number of military men, entrusted with important justiciary and administrative offices, annually multiplied, and the contempt of civil knowledge increased. Men of mature years, such as the ministers Cancrin and Perovski, who had never had a weapon in their hands, were obliged to submit to be

designated lieutenant-generals, instead of privy-councillors, because the military emperor could not longer endure the sight of civil uniforms. Men of real talent gradually disappeared from the ranks of the administration, to make room for uniformed ministers of the most ignorant, and at the same time most depraved kind: General Bibikov, a blood-thirsty tyrant of the Araksheyev school was entrusted with the ministry of the interior, a Count Kleinmichel, whose only merit lay in his aversion to railroads, stood at the head of the Board of public works. Nicolas was so penetrated with the conviction, that his personal rule rendered all independence in the minister unnecessary, that he selected pliable instruments of his will: the privy-councillor Brock, well known for his incapacity, was appointed minister of finance, because he had, according to imperial desire, compressed the report on a difficult and complicated affair into the short space of 5 minutes.

These intimations are sufficient, to afford us an idea of the position, in which the army, the commissariat, the administration, and the means of communication, stood at the breaking-out of the Eastern war: how deeply debased at the same time must have been the moral state of society, which had suffered a condition so degrading throughout a generation, until at last it regarded them with admiration. When the possibility of war appeared, and the conviction more and more gained ground, that no yielding or turning back on the part of the government was to be thought of, all who stood, or who desired to stand, in relation with the government, vied with each other in flattering the feeling of superiority, and certainty of victory, with which the emperor entered on the contest, and in heightening his arrogance begond all bounds. Men were so accustomed to regard questions, which concerned the destiny of the whole

state, as mere opportunities for flattering the Imperial will, and hence as occasions for advancing on the ladder of Tchin, that they naïvely considered the fostering in the sovereign of this certainty of victory, a thing demanded by propriety and loyal feeling. Moreover the idea of a war with the 'infidels', and the continuation of the Byzantine Empire in the Russ, accorded so entirely with the national instincts, that it needed but little effort, to get up a military enthusiasm; the thoughtlessness of which, only those few men could perceive, who were acquainted with the doubtful condition of the army and the commissariat. The bulk of the people were evidently kept aloof intentionally from all knowledge of the nature of the existing arrangements. No wonder, that the few voices which whispered warning, died away unheard: as the exhortations of Kisselev and Brunnov, the Imperial ambassadors in London and Paris. To commit to the sovereign, who had accustomed his people to the idea, that he was the only man entitled to opinion and will in the whole empire, — to commit to him all responsibility with regard to the approaching perplexities, was a matter of course to all loyal Russians.

And Nicolas was to drink to the dregs this cup of responsibility, which he had been filling throughout his life! He was to be taught, that in this giant contest, which he had entered-on against the combined forces of France and England, not only the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of his eastern plans was affected, but the work of his entire life, the position of Russia, the system to which he had sacrificed every other consideration, and with which, in the true sense of the word, he had 'challenged his age'. If he were defeated, his internal policy was at an end, his position in his own empire, everything was lost, which Russia possessed. A gloomy foreboding of the true importance of the contest, even at the first disasters which the Russian troops suffered

on the Danube, took possession of all those, who had preserved a vestige of independent thought; and who, scattered here and there over the immense empire, had been regarded as 'liberals'; the implicit adherents to the old system endeavoured to deaden their apprehensions by wild fanfaronades against the west-European allies. The St. Petersburg journals, which had been hitherto forbidden all allusion to political affairs, were instructed at the beginning of the war, by the servile court circles, to indulge in the boldest ridicule of the allied opponents. But with every new victory, gained by the hated foes, the number encreased of those who cast off the responsibility of the old system, and who saw in the evil star of the Russian arms, a light, which might lighten Russia to a better future. After the days of Inkermann and Alma, defection made rapid progress: it is true, the government press still continued its arrogant language; it is true, the bulletins prepared in St. Petersburg, and brought by the '*Invalide*' from the theatre of war, still ever proclaimed that a favorable turn was impending; but the charm, which had hitherto pervaded every thing, was broken. In the circle of courtiers the frivolous ridicule, with which they had deemed it suitable to depreciate the enemy, was hushed; even in the apartments of the officers, who held guard in the winter-palace, the 'great errors', that had been committed, were talked over in whispers; and when the emperor appeared in the midst of his suite, he was met by the sullen silence of despondency, which at least bore the appearance of reproach. In Moscow, which had always maintained a certain independence, and still more in the government-cities of the more wealthy districts, a manuscript literature arose, which, circulated by a hundred thousand copies, gradually swayed public opinion. The writings of Custine and Golovin,

which had been set aside as malevolent ten years before, were now sought out and read. At about this time Alexander Herzen established his 'free Russian printing-office' in London; the first sheets of his journal 'Kolokol' (the bell), with their accusations, couched in dithyrambic language, against the prevailing system, found their secret way across the strictly guarded frontier, and contained detailed communications, respecting the extent of the losses, which the army suffered, the roguery of the commissariat, the incapacity of the leaders: all that had hitherto been only anxiously whispered, and that had rested on unwarranted rumors, now found its fearful confirmation, was now to be read in black and white, and was authenticated by official witnesses, who had reached London by secret roads. Even men of rank and position considered it no longer beneath their dignity, to shrug their shoulders at tidings of new disasters, or to read to their nearer acquaintances papers, containing proposals of remedies, and detailed plans for the reorganisation of the entire administration. Just as, before the catastrophe, it had been an evidence of good breeding, to regard as excellent all that had originated in the Imperial will, and to look with contemptuous depreciation on the 'heathens' of the West; so now, after the first heavy blows struck against the Russian power, a certain critical coldness became the fashion, which purposely exhibited their discontent with the ruin of the prevailing state of things. The obstinate silence, which the official military reports observed, respecting the true condition of things, essentially contributed to stir up the mistrust and uneasiness of the cultivated portion of the population, and to encrease to the utmost the rumors of the miserable condition of the army, and the corruption of the commissariat-department. With a craving appetite, fostered by the strictness of the law of

censorship, and stimulated under its continued force, the papers drawn-up by politicians of every kind were eagerly devoured; an exposé, drawn-up in the year 1854, on the defects of the constitution, by Valuyev, the subsequent minister of the interior, was circulated within a few months in a hundred thousand copies.

The emperor himself was more unapproachable and gloomy than ever; fear of the outburst of his anger had been shared even by members of his immediate suite, who by degrees no longer ventured to communicate to him the true condition of things. *'Pour ne point l'affliger'*, the disastrous tidings from the Crimea were softened down and altered, as well as the statements of the secret police, regarding the dissatisfaction of the educated portion of the population. That, even in the year 1854, there were people in the Russian Empire, who, with all their patriotic sorrow at the fearful lot of the heroic garrison of Sevastopol, celebrated every victory of the allies, as a defeat of the old system; and who promised to themselves, in the impending occupation of the Russian Saragossa, a new birth of the national life; the dreaded sovereign probably never learned: Orlov and Kleinmichel, who concealed from him these tidings, knew too well, that the Imperial anger, and the application of violent means of repression, would only aggravate the evil, and strengthen, even to their own surprise, the influence of the disaffected party, and enlighten them as to the great number of their adherents.

Great as the number was of those, who during the reign of the Emperor Nicolas must have been designated as 'disaffected', or 'liberal'; real parties were out of the question, thanks to the strictness and effective power of the secret police ever since the tribunal of 1826, and still more since the boyish Petraschevski conspiracy of 1848. Whoever cherished

liberal views, kept them to himself; and was glad, if he could interchange them undisturbed in the circle of his intimate acquaintances: never, since 1850, outside Poland, so far as the sceptre of the Emperor extended, had practical political aims been spoken of. Nevertheless, among the so-called Russ liberals, for the last thirty years, three different tendencies might be pointed out, all differing from each other. The best known and the most wide-spread of these were the groups of fault-finding aristocrats; among these, who appeared especially numerous in Moscow, there were people of the most various kind, however, bound together by scarcely any other bond, than that of common aversion to the Petersburg rulers. The greater number consisted of members of old *Boyáre* families, who, for any reason, had become obnoxious at court, had failed in their career, or had quitted it against their will. Pensioned generals and privy-councillors, ambitious marshals who had quarreled with the higher officials, and lastly noble idlers, who had gained in Paris and London an idea, that the noble may be destined to a higher vocation than courtly service; these formed the main portion of this society: with regard to moral and intellectual culture, differing but little from the court-circle, this party was distinguished only by greater independence of the tone given in St. Petersburg, and by warmer interest in the national literature. But it was significant, that among them there were not only many bearing famous names, but also men who, as inheritors of the liberal traditions of the better age of Alexander I. stood in conscious and wilful opposition to the political system of the emperor Nicolas, and had remained falthful to those ideas of enlightenment, and of national interest in state affairs, which Alexander himself had renonnced after his return from the Vienna Congress. The views, prevailing in the Moscow opposition-party, con-

sisted consequently (owing to the peculiar constitution of that party) of elements of the most various kind: while aristocratic indignation at the indifference, with which Nicolas treated the oldest noble families, and subordinated them to German *parvenus* of the stamp of Dubbelt and Kleinmichel, formed the starting point of this disaffection to the ruling system; it was combined with constitutional and liberal desires, which suited just as little the prevailing tendencies of the time, as they did the programme of the commonly hated government. A limitation to absolute monarchy, formed by the heads of old noble families, hovered before these men of the *Boyárc* 'Fronde', as an undefined ideal; hatred against the court and military *camarilla* (Cabinet) of the Emperor, consisting for the most part of Germans; a predilection for national customs and usages, visions of the recovery of that importance, which the city of Moscow had enjoyed previous to Peter the Great; all this contributed to the indistinctness and vagueness of these ideas. There was no thought of definite plans, and consciously pursued aims; for dependence on the favor of the Tzar was a fact, just as patent in Moscow, as in Petersburg; they satisfied themselves with occasional national phrases, and a peculiar species of political slang, which was fostered by the Emperor's aversion to Moscow, and his intentional contempt of the 'old families'.

Far more important, both as regards their views and their influence, was the intellectual life of the independent party, which had gathered round the university of Moscow. In spite of the strict control, to which the teachers and scholars of this university were subject; notwithstanding the ukaz and regulations, which decided in every detail the dress, the mode of life, and the discipline of the students, fettered the lectures of the professors to papers confirmed by the authorities, and restricted the freedom of the youth-

ful auditors in the most unintelligible manner; still this university had exhibited, ever since 1830, a fresh and independent life. By means of some academical teachers, who had pursued their studies, in Alexander's time, in French or chiefly in German universities; a lively interest for German philosophy had been awakened among the more talented and the better class of students. Hegel and Schelling were studied with a zeal, which was fostered by the displeasure, with which the government pursued all those teachers, who handled other sciences, than those acquired for the sake of gaining subsistence; Schelling perhaps no where exercised such lasting and important influence, as among the Russ adherents of his natural philosophy. The oppression and the danger, to which the scholar was exposed by his culture of these forbidden fruits, bound the eager youths who had devoted themselves to these studies, as colleagues in life or death; surrounded by rude inspecting officials and lurking spies, in the midst of a world, which appreciated nothing but sensual enjoyment and hollow vanity, the young philosophers felt themselves, as bearers of a sacred task, as prophets of a worthier future for their country. The better members of the academical senate endeavoured secretly to promote this impulse, and to protect it against the suspicious severity of the secret police; every forbidden book which fell into their hands, disclosing the intellectual life afar, became the common property of all the associates of this little community, a subject for weeks of discussion and debate. Special effect was produced by the writings of the French socialists, who gradually supplanted the interest felt in German philosophy; and just because they stood in the most striking contrast to the actual world, in which the readers lived, they were devoured with avidity. As early as the year 1835, the liberal students

and professors in Moscow had been divided into two groups. While the one group saw safety alone in the wisdom of *Fourier* and *Baboeuf*, and could admit the Hegelians only to consideration, the other group was inclined to German natural philosophy, and following the example of the Romanticists, took their stand on the basis of the national principle, demanding a purely Slavonic culture, just as they had demanded a purely German one. In order to obtain a correct estimate of this school, which played a certain part subsequently as the philo-Slav party, it will be necessary for as to cast a brief glance at the history of national ideas in Russia since Peter the Great.

That the efforts of the great Tzar Reformer were in direct contrast to the national traditions, and aimed at sacrificing these to western European civilisation; is a fact, that needs scarcely to be established. Never perhaps have the national peculiarities of a great nation been more violently dealt with, than was the case in Moscow in the beginning of the 18th century. The dignity of the patriarch was forcibly abolished, the immense property of the church was made subservient to secular objects, the west-European calendar and reckoning of time was introduced amid the beating of drums, the national costume was prohibited, the established style of military service and arming was fashioned after German models, the cloister-like seclusion of women was broken through, the royal palace was removed to a Finnish swamp, a great number of hated foreigners were placed at the head of affairs, a new school-system was organised: even the orthography and grammar of the Russian language must submit to be remodeled by the imperious son of the Tzar Alexis. After the resistance, offered by the Strelitzen and a certain Boyár-party, against the intrusion of western life, had been broken by the energy

of the iron autocrat; the great mass of the people involuntarily obeyed the impetus from without; and for almost a century the French-German half-culture, which had been forced on the Russians, prevailed in every stratum ef society. Foreigners ruled the empire, foreign models were the standard in all departments of public life: the short period of reaction during which the old Russian spirit, skilfully availing itself of the jealousy between Münnich and Biron, had triumphed and, by the elevation of Elisabeth, endeavoured to supplant the foreign influence; had remained with out lasting results: for under Peter III. German influence again prevailed in the same unlimited manner, as it had in the days of Anna, and the Regency held in the name of Ivan IV. It is true, neither Peter nor his successors had penetrated to the heart of the people; the common man, but only he from whom no effective opposition to the chartered civilisation of the West could be expected, had remained a Russ in the old sense of the word. The only opposition-element, to be found among the masses of the people, and which possessed a kind of consciousness of the contrast in which it stood to the efforts of the government, was the *Raskol:* that is, the party of the orthodox dissenters, who had left the church at the time of the Reformer Nikon, and had become divided into various sects; and who had disseminated their mysterious doctrines, from the icy shores of the White Sea and the Dvina, down to the banks of the Don; these sects pulsated with the hatred of the nation to the foreign tendency, which evidenced itself in forms borrowed from the west, and which had apostatised from the faith and customs of their fathers, in order to sacrifice to the idols of heretical enlightenment. On these sects and their national importance, Pugatchev, the bold Kosác (or *Cazác*) chieftain, relied; when he rose, about the year 1770, in the name of Peter the third, in

order to annihilate Catharine II. and with her the ruling caste, and to restore the people to their own old rights; Pugatchev was only the successor of a long series of Kosac *atamáns*, who sometimes as pretenders, and sometimes as simple robber-chieftains, placed themselves at the head of the discontented south Russ and Kosac tribes; his example was subsequently followed by Gontcharov and other orthodox Kosac leaders, who failed indeed more entirely in the accomplishment of their aim, than the wild conqueror of Kazàn. The Raskol found no representatives in the upper classes of the state, or of society; the fearful oppression, which for two centuries of cruel persecution it had endured, brought adherents only from the lower orders. Thus matters stood until the end of the last century; a literary feud between Lomonóçov and some German members of the Petersburg academy of science, was the only episode, in which national consciousness rose in reaction against the rule of foreign intellect. Even the occasional concessions, which Catharine made to the Russ instincts of the aristocracy and the clergy, were of no actual importance. The national consciousness, and its opposition to the Romano-Germanic west, appeared more conspicuously on occasion of the rising in 1812; when the French, leagued with the Germans, Italians, and Spaniards., penetrated to Moscow; the German Benningsen, and Barclay, were obliged to make way for Prince Kutusov; images of Greek saints were carried thro' the lines of soldiers, in order to kindle the national and religious hatred of the orthodox against the schismatic '*Gallicans*' and their allies; and the militia, that had been levied, bore for the first time since the days of Peter the Great, the national *armyàc*, or peasants' dress, which had long disappeared from the army. In the Cathedrals of Moscow, Petersburg, and Kiyev, the advancing he-

retical nationalities were formally cursed in the name of the Eastern church. The patriotism, however, kindled in 1812 by the Corsican emperor, soon assumed, as a modern Russian writer strikingly remarks, an antique Roman physiognomy, reveled in Plutarchian phrases, and thus became gradually alienated from the masses. The ten years that followed the great French war, were marked by a rise in national Russ literature, which introduced many elements of nationality; Karamzin, the Imperial historian, endeavoured to awaken interest in the period preceding Peter, and in mediæval Russia; Pushkin, the most talented of all Lord Byron's imitators, vented his hatred against the culture of the Russian society of the day, fettered as it was by French forms, and void of all national bias; and in his ode on occasion of the Polish revolt of 1830, promulgated for the first time the doctrine, that the races of the European west had no understanding of, and no right of participation in, internal Slavonic questions and contests. The most influential and important literary production of that time, *Griboyedov*'s Comedy '*Gore ot uma*', was likewise directed against the French manners of the aristocracy, and ridiculed with biting raillery the prevailing mixture of French and 'Novgrodish' habits.

The regret at the sway of foreign elements, was here combined with the conviction, that the condition of Russia was far below that of all the other states of Europe; and the invectives against the Germans and French, who held Russia under their influence, passed into a passionate accusation of the government, and of the Russians themselves. Whenever they indulged in criticism of the existing state of things, the criticiser was sure to find the remains of Russian barbarism far more objectionable, than the tendency in Russia to European culture. The starting point of his own, had been the knowledge of a higher civilisation, and

if this subjected him also to the caricature, which west-European life had become in the Slavonic East; still he could not help finding the roots of this distortion, in the national peculiarities, and in the evils of public life and political institutions. If the Russ critic with his efforts after large-heartedness, freedom, and culture, was at all in earnest, he was ever ready to sacrifice his national wishes and inclinations to higher points of view. An estimate of the true Russian world was only possible in the early half of this century from a liberal point of view, and this was sure to lead back again to western Europe. All the Russ Liberals of the older school had made the round of this course of reasoning.

In contrast to these we find, among the philo-Slavs, among the young scholars of Schelling's philosophy, and of the Romanticists, the effort for the first time after a purely national advance *at any price*, even at that of renouncing essential acquisitions in culture and political liberalism. While the socialist members of the Moscow student-circle started with French models, and considered it a satisfactory realisation of the national task, as we shall presently see, to unite all the Slavonic races, and establish a pan-Slavic empire; the philo-Slavs represented the *inner side* of Slavonic national effort; they desired above all to purify Russ national life from the foreign elements it had acquired since the time of Peter the Great, and to return to the old Byzantine principles of faith and culture. They were not satisfied with being Slavonic in political matters, their doctrine involved a dictinct and specific Slavonic bias.

The new school was in course of time so fully absorbed in the study of old Slavonic life and of Byzantine and patristic theology, that the period before Peter the Great became encreasingly regarded as a golden age; in con-

trast to the frivolous and conventional style of Frenchified society, which seemed to have set aside all patriotic interests; the good old time, in which all classes of society had lived in happy and simple unity, acquired the appearance of a lost paradise. The Boyár of the old time had shared the views of his subordinates, had ruled like a father amongst them, had headed them in the combat, and in the national assembly; the Tzar had been a *Primus inter Pares*'; the orthodox clergy had stood at the summit of a culture, truly national, equally accessible to all classes; a mighty patriarch, lastly, had guaranteed the purity at once of morals and belief, and to the church its, independence of the state. Even the barbarous despotism of some Tzars, as for instance of Ivan the Terrible; when compared with the violent encroachments of Peter who had spared no tradition, no sacred custom or national usage, seemed like the rule of a strict but well-meaning father, whose sternness even was clothed in a popular form. The civil war of the 17th century, (so they argued) had been scarcely so fatal in its results, as the constant conquests of the 18th century. 'If we compare the historical course of our civilisation,' (wrote one of the leaders of the philo-Slav party) 'with that of other peoples and states, we perceive that it stands in direct contrast to the destiny of other nations: while the western races everywhere passed from thraldom and slavery to freedom, the course of *our* development has been exactly the reverse. The *Právda Russkaya*, the oldest Russ legal document, stretching as far back as the first millennium of the Christian era, which knew of no corporal punishment, was followed by the barbarous criminal punishments of the Tzar Alexis Michaïlowitch; and these, by the bloody rule of Peter. In the 16th century serfdom took the place of the former freedom of the peasants; instead of the loud and energetic voices, which

had been heard of old in the national assemblies, appeared in the 18th century that unnatural silence, that mute, gloomy stillness, which hung over the Russ people;' &c. In due time, out of this veneration and respect for the forgotten and ridiculed days of old, was developed among the friends of the new school, a passionate aversion to west-European culture, which had interrupted and impeded the calm progress of genuine Slavonic civilisation. St. Petersburg, the personification of Peter's ideas of reform, the cradle of the Frenchified 18th century, became bitterly hated, on account of its cosmopolitan neutrality, and was regarded as the root of every evil. In opposition to the mighty military and civil bureaucracy, which issuing from St. Petersburg, had, in league with a degenerate nobility, inundated the country, and degraded it to be the slave of greedy foreigners; there was in the eyes of this new school only *one* means of safety; and that was, the *people*. The people alone had remained true to the sanctuaries of the nation: in spite of all temptations they had held aloof from the worship of the new idols; with mute submission they had endured all the injustice and contempt of those, who denied affinity with them of race and language, and in emulation with the rapacious colleagues of Peter and Anna, drained and wasted their substance: from the *people* alone could the new-birth of Russia in the Russian sense be expected. Hand in hand with this *democratic* tendency, which distinguished from the first the philo-Slav party, we find their adherence to the Greek orthodox church, and the Byzantine theology: while all the other liberal parties waged war against the ruling church, the philo-Slavs obtained a support and ally in the clergy in their contest against hostile elements. The ardor, and the decision, with which the philo-Slavs upheld the tendencies of their party, had been notorious in Moscow

as early as 1830; as, however, the friends of this party took care, not to make their political and democratic tendencies openly conspicuous, they were tolerated by the government, and smiled at as harmless national fanatics. It was considered childish, that young men of good family should hold intercourse with the people, and should take part in the theological disputations, which were usually held on Easter-Sunday in front of the Ivan Velikye (church), between peasants of the *right*, and of the *old*, faith *(pravo-* and *staro-verzy*, or *ortho-* and *palaeo-dox)*. That some of these fanatics had made a vow to wear the national red-shirt, and sleeveless velvet-coat, was reported to St. Petersburg as curious, and accordingly ignored. Nevertheless the academical police interfered subsequently with the philosophizing student-party: philosophy was formally forbidden, and many of its too ardent admirers were banished to Vjätka, and Perm on the Asiatic frontier. This fate befel, however, not the leaders of the philo-Slav party, but their friendly opponents, the adherents of the socialist school, at the head of which stood Alexander Herzen, the illegitimate son of a rich aristocrat residing at that time in Moscow. He it was especially, who called for the necessity of a decided breach with the entire Past, and took his stand on the basis of French socialism. He and his friends were ardent adherents of Ruge, and subsequently of Stirner, and of the other followers of Hegel's doctrines. Slavonic antiquity was in their eyes of just as little value, as the Russ Present: the West held in their estimate, as the cradle of revolutionary ideas, a higher position than the East; and, as with all authority, made these young radicals a clean sweep also with the Greek church, which they despised as a stupid institution. Their desires aimed at a socialistic federative republic, in which all Slavonic races were to unite, in order to

overthrow the decaying West. Their socialistic tendencies, the *Západniki* (westlings, as they were called by their colleagues,) had borrowed from the French; their panslavistic wishes, from the Tchechic and Slovenic pan-Slav-ists, who had shortly before come on to the scene. These fanatics, for a new European system, had nevertheless more in common with the old Russ party, and the philo-Slavic theory, than appeared at first sight: both parties were united, in the first place, by their hatred against the existing order of things, under the oppression of which they had to suffer; by their enthusiasm for the people proper, with whose assistance they hoped to annihilate the Petersburg bureaucrats and aristocrats; and by aversion to the Germans, whom the one party detested, as 'Mamelukes' of absolutism; and the other, as foes and injurers of national progress. The most important bond, between these two fractions, who were destined to share the sway over the Russian youth, consisted in their common adherence to the old Russian law of communism; which excluded all personal possession of property, and made the land of the community the possession of all its members.

It is a matter of course, that during the life-time of the Emperor Nicolas, neither the philo-Slav party, nor that of the Socialists, nor any other sect of the 'Disaffected', assumed conspicuous position, and ventured to come forword as a political party. To break the dead and stiff silence, which lay over the whole empire, could least of all occur to those, who were conscious of being safe, under the veil of secrecy alone, from the inexorable severity of that secret police, which was organised by Orlov, and his colleague, General Dubbelt. After the interference against the party of the liberal Moscow-students, and the exile of Herzen and other members; opinions became more hushed at the universities, than they had ever been before. The press had long ago ceased to

promulgate views on any but aesthetic and critical questions; and the occasional investigations on Sclavonic archæology which the Philo-Slavs published in their journal 'the Beacon' (*Mayàc*); in order to make war against the western Europeans and (Roman) Catholics, and to place the superiority of Russ peculiarity in the plainest light possible; could not be regarded as politically dangerous, even by the third section of the Imperial government. The Emperor himself indeed hated the West, and was proud of being a genuine Russian Tzar.

All this in no wise, however, excluded the revolutionary tendencies of the Moscow youth from numbering secret adherents in all parts of the empire. The miserable condition of public instructional establishments; which repressed all freedom of action, and made all truly scientific culture impossible; essentially contributed to give the most ready reception, and the quickest dissemination, to the most extravagant and extreme doctrines. Where all participation in the culture of the age was strictly prohibited, and everything was interdicted which was alien to the views of the government; whatever was forbidden, appeared estimable, in and for itself, to those, who were wrestling for independence; the sharper the contrast, in which a doctrine stood to the existing order of things, the more decided was the presumption in its favor. Outwardly, everything had died away in mute obedience to the tzar, and to the views, which the majority of society, the greater number of those who desired to be esteemed '*comme il faut*', had accepted from him.

In this state of things no change was at first brought about by the defeats, which the old system suffered in the Crimea; as the strict laws, which rendered impossible all expression of independent public opinion, still remained in force. After all however that has been said, it is scarcely necessary to repeat; how ready was the soil, on which the tidings fell of

the overthrow of the military power, which had hitherto been regarded as invincible; how greedily the literature was devoured, which recorded the experiences acquired in the contest with western Europe, and how thousand-fold was the echo, which repeated every word of blame. Men in the Imperial confidence saw themselves soon unable to withstand the tone of opposition, which gradually pervaded all classes of society, and which was fed by every new messenger of evil tidings from the Crimea: all that they could do was; but to leave the veil of secrecy, which lay over the intellectual movement, undisturbed; to prevent all public disclosures of the general depression and exasperation; and to keep the sovereign, as far as possible, in ignorance of the desperate condition of the internal state of his empire; indeed not to allow him even remotely to suspect: that the number of those, who received with satisfaction every disaster in the Crimean war, who traced all the blame of the miserable condition of the army, and the commissariat, to the Emperor and his system, and who looked with longing to the complete subversion of the old régime: that the number of these might be reckoned by tens of thousands, and that it daily encreased. Even the admission of Italy to the alliance, little as this affected the course of the war; the appearance, that Spain assumed, of following the example of Victor Emanuel; and the hostility of all the other powers against Russia; each contributed its share in kindling thro'out Russia, the universal feeling of indignation at the policy of Nicolas. All these powers, the arrogance of the emperor, his fanatical idea of legitimacy, had irritated against Russia; who, standing as she did already on the verge of bankruptcy, was to pay dearly yet for the errors of her sovereign.

II.

When Nicolas died on the 15th February (2nd March), in consequence of a cold, caught by being present, contrary to the will of the physicians, at some military exercises; amid all the sorrow and consternation aroused by the suddenness of the event, those immediately about him felt, as though they were freed from some pressing incubus. That falsity, which had for years marked all the official relations between the ministers and their subordinates; while they endeavoured to keep up the appearance of an unshattered authority, the loss of which was plainly patent to all; had reached such an insufferable height, that all high officials, acquainted with the true condition of the state, must have owned to themselves, that the sudden death of the originator of all calamities, was as great a blessing to the state itself, as to the entire empire. They knew indeed from thousandfold experience; that Nicolas would not, and could not, see plainly; that he was unable to conceive the overthrow of his proud work, evident as this had become; that self-delusion was as great a necessity with him, as the delusion of others. A gloomy augury of the benefit of deliverance from the deceased monarch pervaded the whole empire. The official mourning, which was every where exhibited, and which was mingled with much sincere sorrow at the death of a sovereign, who was in no

wise deficient in good and virtuous qualities; was overbalanced by the feeling of silent satisfaction, that it would henceforth be possible to expose the heavy evils under which the whole administration suffered, and to take steps to remedy them, without regard to the preconceived opinions of a ruler grown incapable of judgment. Altho' no one was sufficiently informed of the capabilities and plans of the new autocrat of all the Russias, who as heir-apparent had been kept aloof from all great affairs; and, even in the highest circles, every thing respecting him rested on conjecture; still the conviction was universal, that he would and must adopt a thoroughly new political course. It is true, the war must be continued for a time, to save the military honor of the Russian army, and to strengthen the popular conviction, that Alexander II. was no less energetic and undismayed, than his father; yet no one doubted, that the continuation of the war was not seriously contemplated, but was the mere fulfilment of a painful necessity, and that the peace-treaty would be concluded before a year was over. Thus the heavy shocks of the summer and autumn of 1855 in Russia were far more easily overcome, than was believed abroad; and while the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, and its conservative party, were never weary of lamenting the loss of the shield of legitimacy, and the sad fate of Russia; other views were prevalent both in Petersburg and Moscow.

The first year of the rule of Alexander II. was occupied in nothing else than bringing to an end the military engagements which Russia had undertaken, in settling accounts (so to speak) with the old system. Alexander, at that time 37 years of age, had grown up too thoroughly under the influence of his father and of his father's views, for it to be possible for him to have prepared beforehand a new and liberal programme, or to have conceived a breach with the order, which he found in a state of ruin. But although

the young emperor had been trained in strict military discipline, and from his youth had been accustomed to spend the greater part of his time in military trifling; it was still well known, that he had no lack of inclination for employment in affairs of state, and that he recognised the duties of rulers, not only towards God, but also towards the nation. He was considered honest and straightforward. But more than this Alexander had always exhibited more gentle and large-hearted feeling, and greater accessibility to foreign views, than Nicolas; he had a tender and nervous temperament, which itself forbad the continuance of the former system of inflexible severity and arbitrary will. The troublous years, from 1853 to 1855, had in many respects opened his eyes to the errors of his father, to whom he clung with childlike reverence, and who in his eyes was to the last the model of a great ruler. Whatever during these latter years had been concealed from the autocrat thro' fear of his anger, had never been kept secret from the heir to his throne; who had often been witness of painful scenes between him and his ministers; and thus the young sovereign must at least have surmised the state of the empire, whose dominion he was about to undertake. Without the experiences of these years of warfare, Alexander would perhaps have trod in the footsteps of the old policy; trained as he was in the strict traditions of autocracy, and in reverence for his father's councillors, there is as little trace to be found in him, previous to the Crimean war, of any deep knowledge of the fearful contrast, in which this policy stood to the civilisation of the age, and to the rest of Europe; as of expressed bias towards a free system. He thought it quite possible, rather, to carry on his father's mode of government, with certain modifications become necessary from experience obtained; for he could not have known, that the terrible results, and deeply rooted evils of this

government, had stood in closest connexion with the whole system; and that the disbanding of the army, the corruption of the administration, and the destruction of the national prosperity and finances, were only the natural consequences of a system of government, the highest aims of which were a rigid principle of authority, and violent opposition to the civilisation of the age. The deviations from the policy of his predecessor were to form the exception; the policy itself was to be maintained in its principles: there was no idea at first of marking off a fixed boundary between the old principles and the new forms in which they appeared. It was characteristic enough, that Alexander, in spite of his clear conviction of the necessity of numerous reforms, in spite of his insight into the deep evils of the old state of things, for years retained the servants of his father; only the minister of the Interior, general Bibikov, who had repeatedly injured the heir-apparent, received at once his dismissal, and was replaced by general Lanskoi. In December 1855, the director-general of public works, Count Kleinmichel, also a personal enemy of Alexander's, was dismissed. The rescript, which accepted the resignation of this worthless man, overflowed with grateful acknowledgement of his alleged services: respect to the friends of his father was to be preserved among the people, and not in the remotest degree impugned.

Altho' the first year of Alexander's reign, filled as it was with the cares of war, rendered any great reform impossible; still during its course an altered tone made itself apparent in most of the branches of public life. The large-hearted character, peculiar to the Emperor, stood in such direct contrast to the severity and personal magnificence of his predecessor, that the higher circles of the administration involuntarily adopted a different tone to their former one. A feeling of the altered condition of things communi-

cated itself to the public, in the midst of the alarm at the taking of the south side of Sevastopol, and speedily won for the new sovereign a popularity, which had at first no other basis than the good faith of the people, and their own need for reform. The conviction, that Alexander meditated a thorough remodeling of all existing relations, was loudly and universally expressed; and a liberal and reformatory character was imputed to his slightest action; before the government had taken any resolutions whatever.

Easy enough was it, indeed, for the new sovereign to pass for a Reformer. A witty Russian strikingly remarked at the time; that if Nicolas had forbidden his subjects to appear in the streets, and if Alexander had only revoked this prohibition, he would have been immediately regarded by the Russians as one of the most free-minded monarchs of his day. In this state of feeling, the first measures of the government, issued after the conclusion of the longed-for peace of Paris, produced a sensation; which was in truth out of proportion to its cause, and was essentially rooted in the general conviction, that these measures were only the precursors of greater things to come. During these early years of his reign, there was as little idea of the dismissal of the ministers, who had now indisputably proved their incapability in the Eastern war, as there was of newly organised laws: the government were satisfied with clearing out the mass of nonsensical prohibitions and restrictions, which Nicolas had issued between the years 1849 and 1855. The revocation of the law of 1849, by which the number of students was limited to 300 at each university, the abolition of high fees for passports for foreign travel, the ready concession for new journals and newspapers; the abolition of those miserable schools, in which the sons of soldiers and non-commissioned officers were obliged to be placed, to be trained

as military clerks, and to be ruined by inhuman treatment of both mind and body; lastly the pardon, issued in August 1856, to the survivors of the conspiracy of 1826: all sufficed to transport the nation into an ecstasy of enthusiasm, which encreased day by day, carrying with it even the most obdurate pessimists. The government soon went further, and set about actual reform. During the years 1856 to 1859, a French company received permission to build the great Petersburg-Eydtkuhnen Railway; Brock, the incapable minister of finance, was replaced by the privy councillor Knyäshewitch; and preparations for the abolition of serfdom, and the laws respecting the remodeling of the administration of Poland, followed each other in almost breathless course. Before we enter more closely on these important changes, and on the circumstances which paved the way for them; it will be necessary for us to make ourselves acquainted with the preceding simultaneous revolutions in the state of Russian society. For the character of the new Russian era rests essentially in the fact; that the government, and public opinion, two powers which had hitherto had nothing in common, henceforth entered into the liveliest interchange of action, thus opening the way to their mutual development, by their mutual reference to each other. While the objects of public interest were selected and pointed out by the government, and their reformatory measures determined the series of themes to be discussed; the growing power of the popular will speedily exercised the most lasting influence on the mode of treating and solving the various questions.

The immense dissemination of secret manuscript literature, which had been carried on during the Crimean war; and which had been necessitated from the lifelessness of the strictly guarded periodical press, as well as from the need for acquaintance with the actual condition of the empire; had

called forth an essential craving in the nation, which the government, as early as 1856 and 1857, were compelled to satisfy. The long checked desire, clearly to understand the true value of the various institutions of Russian political life, suddenly and violently made its way; encreased as it had been by the great intercourse with Germany and France, which had followed the abolition of passports, and by the annual visit to western Europe of a hundred thousand Russians of the higher and middle ranks. The brilliant victories, which the civilisation of England and France had gained over the old system, led to an enthusiastic admiration of the liberal institutions of the West; an admiration which must have been all the greater, because, thanks to the former system of seclusion, they knew just as little of their true nature, as of their darker sides. With that extravagance of feeling, which has at all times been peculiar to the Russian national character, and which may be traced to the want of a solid basis of culture; all those who would have learned aught from the experiences of the Crimean war, outvied each other in the worship of those same liberal institutions; which a few years before they had rejected, as the offspring of heathenish and revolutionary frensy. Hand in hand with this enthusiasm for everything which hitherto had been regarded as forbidden fruit, there appeared a gradually encreasing depreciation of all transmitted authority and tradition. Scarcely had they discovered, that the new sovereign had begun to quarrel with a part of the institutions of his father, and to call their infallibility in question; when everything, which had stood in any relation whatever to the old system, was regarded at once as effete and rejectable; and — which was the most remarkable effect of all — no one any longer considered it necessary to keep secret this revolution in his ideas. The police had only to shut their

eyes to certain publications of popular criticism, and to relax the severity with which manifestations of this kind would have before been punished; and the public imagined themselves possessed of unlimited sway. The emperor had, as we have seen, set the example, in his own person, of an altered demeanour in public; in an absolute state it is a matter of course, that the administration ever assumes the character of him who stands at its head, and that the smallest official imitates the mode of action, and the tone of the sovereign. The measure of liberty which the sovereign had granted, to extend according to necessity, was appropriated by the public without further question. It was enough, that Alexander contemptuously disregarded the fearful reports of the secret police, and the denunciations of agents hitherto highly esteemed, or that (a matter unheard-of under Nicolas) he allowed the punishment of various dishonest officials, who had been called to account at the close of the Crimean war, to appear in the papers; in order to let bureaucracy and the the public change sides. Scarcely was it known, that a noble spy, whose business lay in communicating the liberal conferences that took place in the English club at St. Petersburg, had been dismissed by the emperor with the mere sum of 25 Roubles, and had been ordered to leave the spot; when the terror, which had hitherto surrounded the third rank of Imperial officials, was for a long time broken; and the power of this much-feared establishment was as good as paralysed. The day after the official '*Invalide Russe*' had announced the disgraceful dismissal of Count Kleinmichel's friend and companion, the president of the Petersburg Beard of trade; the names of other corruptible officials were publicly promulgated, and men before whom the public had bowed in fear, were treated by them with contempt and scorn. The passiveness, with which the govern-

ment regarded the advance of the popular will, confirmed, it is true, the wide-spread fame of their liberal tendencies, but only contributed to encrease the boldness of the popular party. When the government perceived at length the effects of their mildness and liberality, it had long become too late to enforce a return. The tidings, of the changed demeanour of those in authority, had spread over the whole empire with such electric rapidity, and had so exactly coincided with the change in public opinion, that restrictions were no longer to be tought of. Within a few months the character of public matters and opinions had become so similarly transformed, that the means for maintaining authority over them, means which had been sufficient at the period of general fear and mute subjection to every imperial whim, now stood out of all proportion to the power with which they had to do. The prestige of the government was lost, the criticism which Alexander had exercised on single eccentricities of his father, had awakened a popular criticism of all existing regulations, a criticism which soon knew neither measure nor limit.

The first new power which entered the lists, to try its strength with that of the government, was the periodical press. The signal, for the universal desire after greater freedom of the press, had been given by that Alexander Herzen; whom we know, as leader of an active student-party at Moscow, and as the founder of the Russian Socialist school. After his release from his Vyätka exile, this man, doubly dangerous, as well from the radicalism of his opinions, as from his brilliant and unparalleled political talent, had come to St. Petersburg in the year 1845, in order to hold a subordinate office, and renouncing the dreams of his youth, to retire into private life, in the enjoyment of happy domestic relations, and of a considerable property. The system

of espionage and denunciation, of Orloff and Dubbelt, was at that time at its height: a harmless expression dropped by Herzen, who, removed as he was from all politics, was living only in the happines of his recent marriage, was conveyed to the emperor, who had known Herzen's name in Moscow, and was sufficient to remove him to Novgorod, and to restrict him from all free movement. The brutalities, which Herzen and still more his sick wife suffered, in consequence of this arbitrary and unjustifiable ill-treatment, filled the mind of the man with a hatred against the incurably cruel despotism of the Russ *ancien régime;* and this hatred was to be felt heavily enough by its representatives. With the help of the noble friends and relatives of his father, Herzen obtained a passport to travel abroad; under the pretext of accompanying his delicate wife to Italy, in the year 1847 he quitted his country for ever. In Paris, which he visited soon after the February revolution, Herzen entered into close alliance with the leaders of the socialist party: his pamphlet *'s'tovo berega'* published at that time, contains a warm protest against the state of things prevailing in Russia, and proclaimed to the world for the first time the gospel of the saving power of the Russ Communism; 'destined', he says, 'to be the weapon for conquering a pan-Slavic and democratic empire'. After the triumph of the reaction, Herzen, (whom the sinking of a French steam-vessel on the Mediterranean had deprived in one day of mother, wife, and children;) went to London, where a circle of Russian emigrants gathered round him. It was during the latter years of the Eastern war, that he established his free Russian printing-house, in order to exert an influence on the minds of his countrymen. The presentiment, that the cause of the allies was at the same time that of Russ liberalism, was no delusion: soon after the death of the Emperor Nicolas, he

published in his newly-established weekly journal, '*Kolokol*' (the Bell), a letter addressed to Alexander II., which made a noise throughout Europe, and became in Russia an event of the first moment. Within a few weeks his name, hitherto but little known, was on every lip; his journal was in the hands of all educated persons, and soon afterwards of all who could read at all. Herzen had found words to clothe the ideas, which had hovered vaguely in the minds of thousands: he demanded, from the son of Nicolas, atonement for the misery which his fathers had brought on an entire people, a complete breach with the ruthless system of universal servitude and recklessness, accordance with the liberal ideas of the time, and above all immediate abolition of serfdom, as an earnest of all future agreement between people and ruler. It is not possible to depict the effect of this bold attack; it needs personal endurance of the misery of the old rule by police and soldiery, of the mute subjection of all classes of society to the tall and frigid man in the winter-palace, of exclusion from the breath of life which was wafted over the rest of Europe; of the depressing effects of a system, which made every petty chief, and every military commander, absolute ruler over his subordinates; and lastly, of the misery, which from the Crimean war had overwhelmed millions of human beings; and of the universal apathy and exasperation of the weeks after the first defeats on the Tauric coast; — it needs, we say, personal endurance of all this, to gain an idea of the kindling nature of that lightning-flash, which the editor of the first independent Russian Journal had sent forth from the retirement of 60 Paternoster Row. That this was the man, round whom the whole nation was to gather, was at once indubitably established for all Russian patriots; and millions of men, who had never heard anything of the nature of political freedom,

yielded tacitly to the leadership of a politician, who was soon to rule as absolutely, as the Emperor Nicholas had done before.

With a skill unrivaled in political history, Iskander, *i. e.* Alexander (such was Herzen's *nom de plume*) knew how to maintain and use the power which he had won. It is true, he was surrounded with advantages greater almost than any we can imagine: no rival could think of competing with him, and his journal was strictly prohibited, his name might not be mentioned, and his very existence was completely ignored by the government. The charm of this mystery contributed essentially to make Herzen's influence unassailable. In what manner, notwithstanding, the Kolokol passed the frontier in countless copies, reached every one's hands, and was read by every one from the emperor to the cabdriver, remains, to the present day, an unexplained enigma. That at the Nijni-Novgorod fair of 1859 alone, 100,000 copies, imported it was said from Asia, were confiscated; is sufficient to testify to the immense dissemination of this expensive journal. Besides an article usually written by Herzen himself, which surpassed all in dithyrambic flow, lucidness, and cutting power; the Kolokol contained correspondence from every end and corner of European and Asiatic Russia, the source of which was veiled in impenetrable ambiguity. It seemed as if Alexander Herzen numbered as many contributors as readers, for on all points he had information. State-secrets, of which not ten persons in the empire dreamed, were treated by him as things of world-wide knowledge; he knew the names of the political captives in the casemates of St. Petersburg, and the mines of Nertschinsk, men known to their own guards only by their 'numbers'; he kept book as accurately, of the corruption and encroachments of the most insignificant police-officer, as he did of the transactions in

in the senate or the council-chamber. The dread of appearing in the Kolokol soon paralysed the hand of the boldest and most hardened officials of the third rank in the Imperial service; it dismayed the myrmidons of violence, who knew no law nor consideration, but who feared lest their names should be read in the terrible journal. To be designated by the Kolokol as reactionary, was in the eyes of aspiring liberals (and who at that time would not have been liberal in Russia?) the hardest fate that could befal a man; disapproval from Iskander's pen was regarded as a kind of death-warrant. Every expedient to get at this demon, or to elude him, soon proved to be vain. The names of the agents despatched against Herzen appeared in the Kolokol, even before they had reached the place of their destination, and had trod on English ground; an officer of the secret police, who succeeded under a false name in penetrating into Herzen's house, was shewn his own photograph on his first visit there, while Herzen requested him ironically to spare the unnecessary mask. As the emperor himself belonged to the regular readers of the Kolokol, his suite hit on the ingenious idea of having a number, in which the honor of an esteemed officer was painfully compromised, secretly reprinted. The original number reached the astonished sovereign, some weeks later, in a closed envelope accompanied with a few lines of explanation.

Herzen's next object, the shattering of all the old authorities existing in Russia, had been too successfully prepared by the events of the last 50 years, to be long waited for. All who had played a part in the time of the Emperor Nicolas, had been so completely discredited within the last few years; that the fetters of obedience and discipline, in the army and bureaucracy, were just as speedily broken, as in the great public. Over the minds of the young

officers, officials, cadets, scholars of ecclesiastical institutions, &c. Herzen ruled with unlimited power; the eccentric doctrines which his journal proclaimed, fell on a soil more than fruitful, for they found a *tabula rasa* of ignorance, unable to meet them with any kind of opposition. It was enough, that Herzen desired the contrary to all that had hitherto been aspired after, to bring him a thousand compliant instruments. For in the conviction, that the existing state of things must perish, before a better future was to be thought of, all aspiring elements had long ago been united. The London agitator was indeed just as incapable of taking the lead positively in creating a new order of things, as that German emigration had once been, which had swayed from Paris the public opinion of Germany. The socialist principles, which had been disseminated in the Kolokol, contained absolutely no fructifying germ. The doctrine of the historical importance of the socialistic system of the Russ peasantry, was the A and the Ω of the entire new system; the old regime of officials and soldiery was, as far as possible, to be put an end to; the freed and healthy peasantry were to be made the truly ruling class of the future Slavonic empire: all the rest was left to the future, and to happy national instinct. The real essence of this doctrine was the theory of the inadmissibility of personal property in land; and this has taken such deep root in Russia, that it has maintained its ground unshaken, in spite of all change of circumstance and opinion. The position assumed by Herzen, with regard to the Polish question, was also of special significance; while in other matters he lay decided stress on the national element, and combated with especial eagerness the German bureaucratic influence; he pleaded unweariedly in favor of Poland, he demanded the restoration of Polish independence, and a free alliance between Poland and Russia, which was to be

the basis of the future universal Slavonic empire. This demand also accorded with the feeling prevalent in the nation; it was enough, that the former reign had treated the Poles with especial severity and cruelty, to secure a certain popularity for their cause, and to spread the desire to see them assisted, with all other victims of the old system. It never occurred to any one, to remember the contrast between the aristocratic character of the Polish national efforts, and the democratic character of the Russian; with the happy naïveté of youth, Russ liberalism ignored every thing, which seemed to check the joyful hopes for the future. 'Strike but this world to ruins, and the other shall trouble me but little', was the universal cry.

In order to form a counterbalance to the authority of the London editor; (Herzen had surrounded himself with a number of colleagues; and edited, besides the Kolokol, a larger review entitled, the 'Pole-star', *Polyärnaya-swcrda;*) the government could not help complying with the numerous requests for new journals, and with these it was overwhelmed during the years 1858 and 1859. Until the year 1856, the Russ periodical press consisted of little more than a dozen insignificant journals; as in other matters of public life, the government had here also been the principal organ. Two official papers, the '*Journal de St. Petersbourg*' and the '*Invalide Russe*', furnished the public with all needful political information, so far as such was conceded; besides these, each department of the administration issued a paper, in which were published tedious and unreadable statements respecting the special business of each. Even these papers, issued as they were by officials, were under strict control of censorship, and carefully watched. There also appeared in every Government (or *County*-) town of the empire, an official paper, the so-called '*government-gazette*'. The contents of

these publications, which were proverbial for their insipidity and dulness, were limited to official notifications, government decrees, and local notices and supplements, which generally referred to the glorification of the local governor, and his enlightened principles. Private journals existed as yet (Finland and the Baltic provinces excepted) only in the two capitals, Petersburg and Moscow. The most important of these were in the hands of privileged Societies: owing to a privilege received from Peter the Great, the St. Petersburg Academy of Science issued two 'St. Petersburg journals', one in the Russ language, the other in the German. These journals were farmed; and, from the want of all free competition, they brought-in a high rent; their contents differed from that of the official papers, only as regards the supplement, on which the main interest of the reader, as well as of the editor, was concentrated. Literary battles (on theatrical matters, concerts, new books, &c.) were here fought; occasionally too, opinions were interchanged as to how far Russ civilisation should remain in connexion with European civilisation, or should develop itself independently. A similar privilege was possessed by the Moscow university in the publication of the Moscow Journal; which, as regards its intellectual value, was inferior to the St, Petersburg papers, and confined itself to satisfying the modest literary requirements of the landed proprietors and officials residing in the eastern portion of the Empire. Lastly, there appeared in Petersburg two journals edited by private individuals: the *Syn'-Otetchestva* (Son of the Country) a much circulated popular paper, but stupid and insignificant, and read only by the lower classes; and the *Severnaya Ptchelya* (Northern Bee), published by Gretsch and Bulgarin. This extensively influential journal occupied itself chiefly, (as is generally the case in times

of political calms,) with belles-lettres and criticism, and was held in extraordinary awe throughout the literary world on accounnt of the just criticisms of its editors. While the political part of this paper lavished shameless praises on Russ affairs, and indulged in frantic worship of the system of Nicolas, the supplement played a part which called to mind the literary activity of Gottsched and his colleagues. Gretsch and Bulgarin represented the so-called Russ 'classic' style, the literary school of the Russian eighteenth century, which had attempted a shallow imitation of the old French and the earlier German writers (such as Crebillon and Gotter and which numbered Dershavin and Lomonossov among its saints. The more important talents of a later period, (such as Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, and others), especially the writers of a national bias, were attacked with hatred and contempt, and were regarded with suspicion as 'dangerous innovators.' Kukolnik, an insipid writer of tragedies, who had extolled the Russian Tçars in succession in tedious alexandrines, was regarded by the men of the 'Northern Bee', who considered it their object to extend to literary matters the lifelessness and constraint belonging to political affairs, as the one talent of modern times. The authority of this journal, which was distinguished by an imperious and peremptory tone, but which nevertheless was held in high esteem by the people, had been interrupted some years before by Belinski, the Russian Lessing. This critic, (who was closely associated with Aksakov and the other leaders of the liberal youth of Moscow), was the first to venture to declare the people, and the nation's history, to be the only genuine sources of all Russian poetry and, to wage war against the old academical axioms. That he embraced at the same time liberal political views, is a matter of course; altho' he cautiously withheld their declaration, Belinski was

often suspected, but he died without having taken any independent position. He acquired lasting merit in the establishment of the Monthly Journal, '*Otetchestvenniya-Zapiski*' (National Memoirs). Krayevski, the real editor of this journal, established it in the year 1839, with the aid of Belinski, and Panayev (a friend of Herzen's party), in order to neutralise the influence of the old school, and to defend the interests of the Russ Romanticists (as Pushkin, Lermontov, and others, styled themselves), in an independent organ. The first number of this paper contained a translation of Goethe's Faust, which was at that time not known in Russia; and it gained in consequence such universal notice, that all the young literary talents of importance joined it. Whilst Panayev and Belinski were proclaiming the principles of the new school, and demanding the return to the forsaken basis of national culture, as prerequisite to the true flourishing of Russ literature, Count Sollohub published in the same journal his favorite tales, witty and satirical delineations from high life, which imitated the tone of young Germany; a breath of that sadness, which Pushkin had already brought into fashion, pervaded these, as it did numerous other belletristic productions of that day, which always had the decay of public affairs as a background. For ten years these 'memoirs' continued at their prime, and served as a central point for all the aspiring talents of the time. In the year 1847 Belinski and Panajev separated; the latter established the 'Contemporary' *(Sovremennik)*, and obtained a talented colleague in the poet Nekrassov, an imitator of Lord Byron. Belinski took part only in the first year of this journal, for in 1848 he died. Such reviews could as little attain to more than a belletristic importance, as the before-named organs of the Moscava philo-Slav party, '*Mayak*' (Beacon), and '*Beccda*' (Table-talk);

as politics were excluded from their programme, and the censorship, the severity of which had doubled after the discovery of the boyish Petrashevski-conspiracy in 1848, regardlessly trampled under foot every vestige of independent effort, critical disputes remained the only employment of the young literati. Again, under the mask of different opinions, as to whether Russ literature should be exclusively national, or should endeavour to connect itself with the more distinguished talents of the west, men attempted to give expression to their views on the political future of Russia; and as the Slavophils knew how skilfully to avail themselves of the Emperor's aversion to all west-european life, and assumed the appearance of hating liberalism, as such (not only on account of its un-Russsian origin); they succeded in gaining a kind of political importance. The circle which took part in these literary efforts, was moreover extremely limited; all who belonged or who desired to belong to good society, took pleasure in intentionally disregarding the national literature, supported as it was, by plebeian, rankless, and untitled civilians; and read, wrote, thought, and spoke exclusively French.

A few years sufficed to change this state of things speedily and completely. When Herzen had broken the ban of silence, which hitherto had lain upon Russian society, all who desired to take part in the efforts of the time, turned to the work of politics. The existing organs were enlarged; from the year 1857 they contained without exception political articles, and were in a short time so changed, as to be incapable of recognition; hundreds of new undertakings were established within one year. According to the reliable statement of a Russian bookseller's paper, seventy seven large journals were entered between the years 1858 and 1860; of these fifty had been undertaken in

Petersburg, seventeen in Moscow, and ten in various government cities. That the number of those that survived, was far greater than of those that died, need scarcely be said. Old and young, learned and unlearned, highborn aristocrats and noble scholars of religious seminaries, all endeavoured to satisfy their zeal for reform, as journalists. In Petersburg, the rich Count Kuschelev-Besborodko established the weekly radical paper, the 'Russian Word' *(Russkoye Slovo)*, endeavouring to engage the assistance of the most reputed writers by high remuneration (he paid 100 Rbl. a sheet); in Moscow, Professor Michaïl Katkov laid down his academical office, in order to purchase a printing-house, and to publish the monthly journal, the 'Russ Messenger' *Russky-Vyestnik*. The impulse to publish was so strong, that the journals were obliged to defend themselves from contributors; for journalism was regarded, by the young especially, as the only form of work suited to the time. No less considerable was the number of those who sought for office as censors; convinced as they were, that the watchers over the press must be above all men free from prejudice, liberal, and independent of the government; rich private individuals, and high pensioned officials, solicited these offices, which before had been little sought for, on account of their responsibility; though according to the existing laws, any censor could be dismissed by the supreme authority, without a statement of the reasons, so soon as his trustworthiness was doubted. From the year 1858, it became a rule, that every censor deposed on account of his freedom of thought, should be followed by one still more liberal; if it was proved that the one dismissed possessed no property, committees met together for his support. After Kruse, the favorite Moscow censor, had in this way become a wealthy man, liberalism became an epidemic among the officials of the censorship. Soon

every limit to the periodical press ceased, and the journals vied with each other in radical boldness and polemical extravagance. The key-note, struck by Herzen, was imitated by the greater number of journalists; and was the only one which could reckon upon universal accord; within a short time every part of the Russian empire was deluged with papers, and no one ventured any longer to speak any other language than that of liberalism. Books, of which there had always been but few in Russia, henceforth appeared no longer; to write newspapers, and to read newspapers, was now the sole occupation of the cultivated classes. The material which lay before the youthful press, was indeed infinite. Western Europe had been, so to speak, newly discovered, since the death of the Emperor Nicolas. The results of modern natural science, constitutional public law, the more modern sections of Russ history, the history of the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, critical philosophy, and national economy: all this was new to the greater part of the Russian public. To recover from this neglect, appeared to the liberal Russ journalists their main task; besides the translations of popular novels, which had formerly constituted the principal contents of the bulky reviews published in Moscow and St. Petersburg, they contained abridgements and extracts of the greater number of all the scientific and political works that had appeared in Germany, France, and England, during the past 30 years, works which had been forbidden under the old régime. Socialist and communist writings of course took the lead, but regard was paid to everything which could lay any claim to liberal sentiments. We may conceive the effect, which sudden acquaintance with Hobbes and Vogt Buckle and Darwin, Bentham and Ruge, John Stuart Mill and Louis Blanc, and others, must have had on a public, accustomed, not only to have its actions and

omissions, but also its opinions and thoughts, prescribed by the government; and which had scarcely had an idea, that there were states on the other side of the frontier, in which the power of the sovereign was limited by the rights of the citizens, and in which nevertheless law, and order prevailed. The same number of the Sovremennik, from which the landed proprietor or official, whose horizon hitherto had been limited by his government or his circle, and to whom St. Petersburg had even appeared as a mythical *ultima Thule*; that same number, from which he obtained his first knowledge of the nature of parliamentary constitutions, derived the origin of the human race from apes, and pulled down the heaven whose sanctity he had hitherto believingly reverenced! As a direct criticism of the political institutions existing in Russia was not at first possible, the liberal journalists endeavoured to veil their opinions in the garb of critical investigations into the constitutional condition of England, Denmark, or Prussia; or to give vent to their indignation at the continuance of tzarish despotism, in polemical remarks on the evil influence of absolutism in Austria. With a strange mixture of opposing views and principles, one day the panslavistic future of Russia was hailed, and all foreigners were vowed to death; and the next it was solemnly announced, that cosmopolitism was the only sensible theory, and the only one possible for truly liberal men.

Besides the popularising of the free and revolutionary deas of the west, the derision of the models of the *ancien régime* was the most usual form of journalistic writing. The general grown stupid in courtly service, the ignorant high official with rank and star, the thievish police-officer, the cruel and oppressive landed proprietor; all were held up to general contempt in numberless delineations, and all honest people were invited to shake off the yoke of these

vampires, who tormented the noble Russian nation. With the rich satirical vein of the Russian, and his habit of seeing his own forms of life and customs ridiculed and critically analysed, there was no lack of talented minds, who indulged with masterly power in this fashionable derision of those formerly in authority. Especial sensation was excited, in the springtide of this literature, by the 'Sketches from provincial life' published by Vestnik, the author of which, it was whispered, was a vice-governor and privy Councillor, who concealed himself under the pseudonym *Shtchedrin*. These 'sketches' contained humorous delineations of all the various tricks and devices, ordinarily in use among the lower class of officials, in order to rob the public, to deceive those placed over them, and to fill their own pockets. Papers of a similar purport appeared at that time by dozens, and must naturally have undermined all respect for the authorities; for the greater number of readers were thoroughly incapable of a distinction between office and person.

Of all the numerous publications, which played a part in the years from 1858 to 1862, none (after the legally prohibited Kolokol) was more extensively circulated and more influential, than the above mentioned monthly journal *Sovremennik* (the Contemporary), edited by Panayev, Herzen's early friend, and the dissolute poet Nekrassov; in spite of its large size and high price, it numbered no less than 8000 subscribers, and perhaps ten times as many readers; as it was exposed to view in most of the public places of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and the more important government-cities, and formed, owing to the lack of independent works, the almost exclusive reading of large circles of readers; as for instance, the youth of the universities, seminaries, gymnasiums, and military academies.

The editor's point of view was scarcely to be dis-

tinguished from that of Alexander Herzen: the Sovremennik was in fact little more than a moderated edition of the Kolokol. The true leader of the paper was Nicolai Tchernytchevski, a journalist who had suddenly risen into notice; and who from a rich vein of satire, and the cutting sharpness of his criticism, obtained the highest rank among the Russ political writers, and was constantly designated by his numerous adherents, as the Russian Robespierre; his colleagues were Serno-Solovyevitch, subsequently exiled to Sibiria, and Peipin and Nicolai Dobrolyubov, two men trained in an ecclesiastical seminary, who, freed from the fetters of the spiritless Byzantine dogmatism, enthusiastically embraced Hobbes and Vogt's materialism, and the extremest socialist theories; and others.

From the great influence of this journal, a glance at its tenor and arrangement will not be superfluous. Every monthly part contained between 30 and 40 sheets, a third of which was occupied with Russian tales, plays, and poems, and with translations from favorite English, French, or German novels. The other two thirds were dedicated to politics and literature. The tales, and narratives, which formed the principal part with the wider circle of readers, indulged without exception in bitter criticism of the existing Russ institutions, and were generally written with great skill. Here the young atheists and radicals, who had just escaped from the monastic discipline of ecclesiastical schools, published thrilling descriptions of the miserable condition and slavish subservience of the lower clergy, reminiscences of the period of their college-life; which laid bare with regardless openness the carelessness, deadness, and ignorance of these institutions, and were devoured with craving appetite by the young generation. In a similar manner, young officers depicted the mental torments of their years of train-

ing, the want of judgment and the brutality of their teachers; periodically recurring correspondence from the interior of the Empire passed judgment on the 'Types of the Past' the bureaucrats of the old school. The favorite novelist of this kind was Marco Vovtchek, a native of Russia Minor; who even as a common soldier, had been distinguished for his poetic talent; a similar fame was enjoyed by Eugen Tour' a pseudonym, adopted by an emancipated female. No less important were the papers, on the Russian history of the 18th century, which were here published, for the most part passionate protests against the favoritism of the empresses Anna and Elisabeth, with occasional attacks on the German powers of the time; the critic was instructed to expose to criticism the Russian history up to the accession of Catharine II, hitherto known only from the official representations of Karamzin and Ustryälov. It is not necessary to observe, that the greater part of the historical authors, who availed themselves of this liberty, pursued aims, under the semblance of scientific candor, which had nothing in common with science, and which had chiefly in view the discredit of absolutism and its upholders.

Then followed, under the head of literature, lengthy extracts from the works of the most important publicists, and leaders of socialism and radical democracy, investigations respecting property, and other matters. A general history of literature was carried-on, in harmony with the work of Johannes Scherr, well known from his eccentricity. No where did the dangerous tendency of the publication appear more glaringly, than in this apparently harmless heading; the selection of works to be discussed, the treatment of the material, and the passionate diction, rendered it beyond a doubt, that the doctrines of the social Revolution, which ostensibly were merely stated and critically

elucidated, were intended to be promulgated and infused by drops into the reader's mind. Nothing less was aimed at, than a complete remodeling of the state, and of society; on the abolition of serfdom, which had become the subject of official negociation as early as the year 1857, they would have annihilated all personal property in land, in favor of communism, the peasant-class was to be placed in complete possession of the village-boundaries, the nobles were to be set aside, the army disbanded, the throne surrounded with democratic institutions, and thus the authority of the sovereign to be restricted. The close of the number was formed by the 'Remarks of the new Poet', mischievous papers on incidents of Petersburg life, by the chapters on home and foreign policy, full of points of critical dispute with the other parties, of attacks against the constitutional desires of the liberal nobles, and of contemptuous remarks on the churchly zeal of the philo-Slavs. Occasionally also, there appeared valuable dissertations on questions of Russ legislation and administration, having practical and rational aims in view. Especial notice was excited on this subject by Philipov's remarks on Russian private right, where, in his chapter on matrimonial right, he demanded the equalisation of all creeds. From time to time, the so-called *Swistok* (the pipe), a kind of Punch, followed as a supplement. In order to exhibit the impudent tone which prevailed in the satirical scraps of this section, we will anticipate the course of our narration, and insert the questions, with which the Swistok greeted the 1st January 1862; a year in which, as is well known, the millennial duration of the empire was to be celebrated. Among other scraps, it is asked: 'shall we go forwards or backwards? What is the meaning of forwards, what that of backwards? Forwards, by means of cudgel and stick, or

without them? Forwards only with the A B C book, or is this also to be left behind? Forwards with, or without publicity? Are the entire people to go forwards, or only those holding rank as staff or general officers? In case not only the staff- and general-officers are to go forwards, but the whole Russ people, are all the countless nationalities, which belong to the Russian empire, to go with them?'

The programme advocated by the Sovremennik (so far as we can thus designate it, in the face of the contradictory demands which daily arose), was repeated with slight modifications by numerous other journals, for the most part similarly arranged, and similar tho' less important in their contents. '*Russkoye* Slovo', '*Russkaya* Ryetsch', 'Vyèk', and others, endeavoured to imitate Tchernytchevski's tone, or to surpass it in boldness and sharpness. 'Slovo' was especially known by its hatred of Germany, and its zeal for the panslavistic ideas; the 'Vyèk' (*Age*) directed its shafts mainly against the priests; moreover these journals were always splitting straws with each other, and their criticisms and anti-criticisms formed, as early as the year 1858, a matter of ridicule to those very readers, who had drawn from them the gospel of their political wisdom, and who appealed to no higher authority than Nekrassov, Panayev, or Tchernytchevski. Among the Petersburg daily papers, the Russian St. Petersburg Gazette (edited at that time by Krayevski), adhered with especial eagerness to the radical party, as the best to deal with.

We shall subsequently have to enter more fully into the other journals, representing the more moderate parties, and for the most part of later origin. We will only mention here, that Ivan Aksakov, Constantine's brother, and after his death official leader of the philo-Slav party, established the weekly paper *Dyèn* (the day) in the autumn of 1861, and

that the *Vyaistnik*, likewise appearing in Moscow, held constitutional ideas, advocating with especial energy the necessity of decentralisation, and of a self-government after the English model; consequently all parties, alone excepting the true aristocratic faction, possessed at the close of the half-century their representative journal. The greater number of political daily papers also held liberal or radical views, but these acquired no important influence until a later period. With the exception of the Russian St. Petersburg Gazette, (at that time edited by Krayevski, a clever but unprincipled journalist,) which at once made its way with its radical and panslavistic extravagance, the newspapers at that time bore no distinct party-coloring; they held the universal tendencies of the period, waged war, in a somewhat vague manner, with the 'old system', but were generally inferior to the reviews and monthly journals.

The altered position of newspaper-literature was, however, not the only symptom of the passionate movement, which had seized on public life in Russia. The agitation, for universal participation in national education, also played a most important part. The 'sad condition' of national education had long been a matter unceasingly deplored by the press; tho' in truth such a 'condition' could scarcely be spoken of; for there were no national schools at all in country districts, they formed the exception in towns, and were moreover only feebly attended. Here and there some assiduous priest instructed the youth of his village; but in general the lower clergy of the Greek-orthodox church were too poor, too uneducated and oppressed, to think of the solution of any moral question; the higher clergy belonged to the monastic class, and regarding all secular efforts at civilisation with hostile eyes, advocated with passionate zeal the maintenance of the old state of things. They saw indeed in this the surest pledge

for the maintenance of their influence, their wealth, and their sway over the despised secular clergy. Throughout the country districts, however, the priests were the sole vehicles of culture; for the idea of the national-school teacher was unknown, and the greatest part of the nobles had neither inclination, nor energy, to improve the education of their serfs: the higher and more cultivated landed proprietors spent the greater part of the year at the capital, or in the government cities, and had their children educated by German or French tutors; the noble proletarian placed his offspring occasionally in the military schools; it repeatedly happened, that the youthful nobles (for example in the Ryäsan district, where they are, for the most part, small proprietors) grew up without any discipline or culture whatever. In most districts, the school-children formed scarcely two-per-cent of the whole population; and even in the year 1868 it was officially as certained that scarcely $4^1/_2$ per cent of the recruits levied for military service could read. Little better was the aspect of things in the towns: the artisans and lower classes could on an avereage neither read nor write; the trading class rarely advanced beyond these arts, and imagined they had attained a high degree of learning, if they had been instructed besides in the use of the national ciphering-board. Exceptions were to be found in favor of the two capitals, and of the Germans, who in many of the government-towns possessed so-called German church-schools which (especially in St. Petersburg) were justly regarded as the best educational institutions throughout Russia.

To meet this evil, and to secure a prop to the cause of liberalism in the education of the lower classes, had appeared, from the year 1858, to the youth of the universities and higher colleges, their sacred duty. No sooner had the

capital afforded an example, than the greater number of the larger towns formed voluntary Sunday-schools, in which younger teachers, students, pupils from professional colleges, and the higher classes at the gymnasiums, undertook the part of teachers. For some time nothing was talked of, but these schools; every young man, who desired to be thought a patriot, was compelled to take his part in them, or at any rate to be enthusiastic respecting them, and to be a propagandist in their behalf; no feast and no ceremony could take place, without a collection being made at the conclusion, for the support of the Sunday-schools. The zeal so manifested too often degenerated into a mania. Unfortunately, however, it appeared, that this enthusiasm was but shortlived, when not drawn into the service of revolutionary objects; and that the government almost entirely lacked the talent to guide the newly formed institutions, and to influence them advantageously. The want of judgment, in the governors of the more remote towns, shewed itself in pedantic rules formally prescribed to the master-artisans, that they were to send their apprentices regularly, and 'well dressed' to the Sunday-schools, — injunctions annoying to the employers; in other places the zeal of the undertakers cooled, as soon as the first ardor had passed away, and the source of income from which they had originally drawn, was exhausted. Nevertheless the matter was three or four years in operation, and produced important effects especially in St. Petersburg, where radical writers took the lead. Not only by the university and the Lyceum, but in all the regiments of the guard, schools were founded and conducted by younger officers. These schools were not, of course, wholly without result: according to a statement in a Russian Rewiew of the year 1862, in consequence of these efforts at instruction, 85 men in every hundred of the artil-

lery were able to write, 58 in every hundred of the infantry, and 50 in the cavalry; the regiment of the *garde-sappeurs* had gained especial reputation, and was formally divided into a number of classes, each of which possessed its own programme, the soldiers occupying themselves with the higher branches of mathematics, history, geography, &c. and reading industriously in their leisure hours. Still more favorable was the report of the mounted pioneers and riflemen.

But it was just those among these voluntary schools, in which the zeal of the teacher was the more lasting, which (as it soon proved) were the most dangerous and pernicious: not the zeal of instruction, but political fanaticism had been the *causa movens*, which had impelled the teacher. Instead of duly restricting the instruction, the political education of the pupils was aimed at; that is to say, they became propaganda for socialist ideas, and the schools were transformed into a nursery for revolutionary agitation, and hence fell under the suspicion of the government, and were forthwith devoted to destruction.

Thus we see the Russian *ancien régime*, at the close of the half-century, on the point of complete dissolution. On all sides destructive elements appeared, not only ready to break into fragments the old military state of the Emperor Nicolas, but also the social condition, from which the old system had derived its material, and which had been accessory to the extortion, and ruin of the people, in favor of a single man. The army and the bureaucracy had lost all moral credit from experiences gained in the Crimean war; there was no cultivated middle-class, whose co-operation could be depended on in re-modeling the state; and the nobility, who had hitherto been regarded as the main support of the monarchical principle, and who at least possessed some

healthy elements, had been visibly alienated from the government, ever since the preliminary steps for the abolition of serfdom. No effective opposition to the destructive powers, which had begun to be roused; (and which could not fail to be roused, if the cause of peasant-freedom, that fundamental condition of all effective reform, was to be carried out;) was to be expected from the clergy; for they, thanks to their lower state of culture, and their hierarchical organisation, had never possessed influence but over the peasant-class alone. The nobles, the cultivated and half-cultivated population of the cities, who were of the first importance as vehicles of the intellectual movement, stood in no relation with the clergy; the monastic ecclesiastical princes were hated, as enemies to enlightenment, and as foes to liberty; and the *'popes'*, or parish-priests (the secular clergy), were despised as poor ignorant devils.

Thus completely isolated stood the government, to meet a wildly agitated current, which it had itself let loose; and which it was compelled to let loose, because the old state had become actually impossible, and yet all means were lacking for its restraint. In the first object of the government, the abolition of serfdom, it had a decided confederate, it is true, in the youth of the nation, and in the immense majority of all cultivated and liberal minds; but this ally (as was well known in the leading circles) only waited the favorable moment, to advance over the 'liberal' government, and to place itself in power, The nobility were partly themselves in the camp of radicalism, and partly allowed it free scope, in order to draw the utmost possible advantage from the helplessness of the government: some wished to see the abolition of slavery carried out without too great a loss to those possessing serfs, others (and these formed the majority) were ready for the greatest sacrifice, so long as they received

compensation for it by the extension of their political rights, that is, by the proclamation of an aristocratic constitution. This state of feeling, in the one class of Russian subjects, whose opinion the government was accustomed to consult, was to become all the more evident, the nearer the opportunity for emancipation approached.

III.

The law of emancipation, passed on the 19th February 1861, marks a new section in the history of the Russ monarchy tho' the revolution, in the political views of Russ society, dates back to the days of the Crimean war; though the government, ever since the appointment of a committee for the reorganisation of the state of the peasantry, had resolved on a breach with the old system, and on a remodeling of the most important branches of the administration; still the true work of reform did not begin, until with the abolition of serfdom, the strong-hold of old military absolutism had been broken down. After 25 millions of peasant-serfs had been freed from the arbitrary will of their masters, it no longer rested with the government, to detemine, according to its own convenience, the time and extent of the Reforms it had devised; this became forthwith linked as a consequence to the great step which had been taken on the 19th February 1861; and its full extent was not at once to be computed.

But, in another sense also, that law forms a new section in Russ development. Since the days of Peter the Great, the introduction of Russia into the political system of Europe had been the fundamental idea, in fact almost the one purport of all Russ policy; the extension of the boundaries of the state, which had been aspired-after, during the

18th century; and Alexander's attempts to introduce European civilisation into Russia, had exclusively aimed at this idea, and had been mere means to this object. In contrast to this, the abolition of serfdom aimed at the fulfilment of a genuinely Russ necessity: it formed the starting-point of a mighty legislative work, which solely concerned the interests of the people, whose powers had hitherto been entirely subservient to the objects of the government and the state. It is a matter of course, that ideas respecting the increase of Russ influence abroad and Russ defence and resistance, were in no wise excluded; but they were only of secondary importance: now '*la Russie pour les Russes*,' was the motto foremost in view. Added to this, the rural or peasant character of Russ national life, and the law of undivided communism rooted within it, were placed so strongly in the foreground by the abolition of serfdom, that henceforth they swayed all other social and political matters, and indeed all interests. Since the peasant alone had remained unaffected by the influences of west-European civilisation, his freedom denoted at once an invigoration of the national idea; which was henceforth asserted by the panslavistic party, and was unwearyedly brought forward. The government were left relatively free in other matters of reform; but the remodelling of the rural relations was a popular matter, in which the cultivated classes had no right to take a part: it formed, especially since the Polish insurrection, the central point of all party efforts, the main subject of all political thought in Russia. The desire to give the state a stamp specifically Russ, by means of the still national and now freed peasantry, plays in modern Russia the same part, as the contest for a dominant position in the European state-system, such as she occupied under Peter, Catharine II., and others. Their desires for the establishment of political right, for true freedom of the

press, for the participation of the people in the government, and for the dissemination of culture and education among all classes of society, &c., were renounced or postponed by the Russ on the first difficulties that they encountered: the idea of carrying out the emancipation of the peasantry to the utmost, and by their help to break asunder all foreign influence, on the frontier, and in the heart of the monarchy, and to establish a strict national system, was never lost sight of, and was at least to a great extent realised.

The official statements respecting the course of the proceedings for remodelling the Russ agrarian matters, as they were styled in the law passed on the 19th February 1861, adhere only to the formal documents, *i. e.* they tell us in what succession the different committees, commissions, and delegations, were consulted, and in what manner the subject was divided. All that is further known, rests on fragmentary and unreliable communications made by interested persons, and published by Alexander Herzen in the Kolokol, and on conjectures and court-gossip of a still more doubtful character. More important, and more serviceable than these notices scattered in different journals, are the materials, published in London in the Russian language, as a history of the proceedings of the committee entrusted with the Emancipation question; which were ascribed pretty generally to the privy-councillor Milyutin, the subsequent secretary of state for Poland, and the originator of the agrarian law as well in Poland, as in Lithuania, and White Russia. This statesman, who had enjoyed considerable influence even prior to 1860, represented in the committee, instituted for the consideration of the question, the views of the radical party; who, perfectly indifferent to the interests of the nobles, regardlessly promoted the advantage of the peasants, and, as far as possible, gratuitous cession of landed property. This London

publication may be taken as the professed defence of the views of this party, and contains, as its principal matter, their proposals, which were left in the minority; it boasts the advantage, moreover, of treating the various questions with much distinctness and logical accuracy; and for this reason it is considerably superior to the official document. The latter was published in the French language by the '*Journal de St. Pétersbourg*', and was subsequently issued, in a separate form, as a pamphlet.

We have before intimated, that the Emperor Nicolas had repeatedly thought of the abolition of serfdom, and had taken steps preparatory to it. The measure had stood, like the codification of the Russian law, on the official order of the day, ever since the reign of Catharine II.; but neither this sovereign, nor her grandson Alexander I., owing to the pressure of warlike difficulties, had been able to come to any decisive resolution, or even to entertain the matter. Nicolas, a few months after his accession to the throne, established a secret committee for the previous consideration of the emancipation question. This committee's proceedings advanced so slowly, that, in the year 1830, they had not yet reached a conclusion. The outbreak of the July revolution, and of the Polish insurrection, induced the emperor to break up the committee, and allow its proceedings to rest for ever. More important was the establishment of a second committee, which met in the year 1836, and at the head of which stood Kisselev; intended at first to consider projects for the gradual abolition of serfdom, this committee subsequently limited its activity to proposals for the improvement of the condition of the peasants' lands; proposals, which were settled in the legislation of 1842, and were not without advantage. And this, not only as regards the crown-lands. The Russian state, as is well known, is the

largest landed proprietor of the monarchy, and (if we merely regard the *extent* of its territories) richer than all the land-possessing nobles combined; this extensive landed property had been for years used by the state, in favor of the peasant class, in exerting a moral power over the nobility; an aim, which was pursued with especial energy by the legislation of 1842. Lastly, about the year 1838, a third committee was established by Nicolas, which, under the direction of Count D. *Bludov*, was to occupy itself with the emancipation-question; according to the official statements, the proceedings of this deliberative assembly were suspended in 1839 'on account of the bad harvest,' and in 1840, were completely laid aside. A widely spread report, lastly, assures us, that the deceased emperor at his death enjoined on his son the execution of the great plan, for the realisation of which he had himself lacked the courage of resolve.

In the year 1857, the abolition of Russian servitude first became a subject of official negociation in the reign of Alexander II. At the time of his coronation *(August* 1856), the emperor alluded, in presence of the nobles assembled in Moscow, to his desires on the subject; but they scarcely found an echo. For the nobles thought, that through the great sacrifices, which they had made to the state at the time of the Eastern war, they had gained a right to a special regard for their interests; and they did not give the youthful sovereign credit for the courage required for independent and energetic action. Alexander's resolution had, however, long been taken, and had gained a powerful support in the decided approval with which the Grand Duke Constantine (even at that time regarded as a man of great and influential capacity) looked on his brother's designs. In the opinion of a rather numerous party, Constantine was regarded as a friend of the old Russian system and its

aristocratic traditions: all the greater therefore was the surprise, when he not only came forward in favor of the cause of the freedom of the peasantry; but at the same time displayed an ardent zeal for reformation in the administration of the naval affairs entrusted to him, consigned the literary journal of the Admiralty to a liberal-minded editor, strove after western European models, abolished the infliction of corporal punishment from his department in the administration, and, in short, in every respect, enacted the 'liberal'. In 1857, by Imperial order, a committee was formed, to discuss preliminary questions, but its existence was not generally known; in the autumn of the same year the nobility of the Lithuanian provinces, Vilna, Kovno, and Grodno, acquainted the government, in an address, with their desire to arrange their relations to their serfs in a manner suitable to the age, and to regulate this definitively. An Imperial rescript, of the 2nd December 1857, expressed itself in the most grateful manner for this proposal, and proclaimed the Imperial wish to the nobles of the whole empire. The various associations of nobles were to enter into deliberation on the question, how the position of the peasants, with regard to the proprietors of the estates was to be improved, and secured by accurate definition of their mutual duties and relations. The moral power, which this declaration on the part of the government exercised, asserted itself first in St. Petersburg; where the nobles soon afterwards begged to be allowed to call a committee for deliberation; this example was subsequently followed by the nobles in Tambov and Nijni-Novgorod. The emperor's answer was communicated to the marshal of the St. Petersburg district, in a rescript dated December 17th, and was at once published in the papers. 'For this object,' he says, (that of the reorganisation of the relations of the peasant) 'I command, that from this day forward, a committee,

presided over by a marshal of the nobility, shall meet within the jurisdiction of St.Petersburg, consisting of representatives, two of whom to be chosen by each of the proprietors of every district, and of two members chosen by your excellency; which members shall be taken from the body of the most enlightened landed proprietors. This committee being formed, it shall proceed to prepare a sketch for the organisation and improvement of the position of the peasant-class, and shall take the following principles for its direction: 1. The landed proprietor retains the right of property on his whole estate; but the peasants retain their house-and garden-ground *(uçadba)*, and acquire the right to obtain these as property by payments within a stated period. The peasants are further to have the use of that extent of arable land, which is necessary to secure them maintenance, and to afford them the means of fulfilling their engagements towards the state and the landed proprietor. For the use of this land, the peasants are to be bound, either to give the proprietor payment in money, or to labour for him. 2. The peasants are to be divided into communities, over which the landed proprietors act as the rural police. 3. All other relations between the proprietors and the peasants, are to be so arranged, that the regularity of the tribute paid to the state, as well as of the provincial imposts and taxes, may be stated with certainty.' Although this rescript came like a lightning-flash, was received with enthusiasm by the just awakening press, and hailed as the first step towards the complete abolition of serfdom; the other nobles of the empire, in spite of all the exhortations and threatenings of the governors, followed but slowly and gradually the example given by the capital. Of the *thirty three* districts, which, in the course of the year 1858, had declared their wish to discuss the matter, only *nineteen* established com-

mittees for the purpose; and in these, in spite of the exhortations which the emperor addressed to the nobles in his tour through Russia, hindrances of every kind were brought forward as an excuse to delay the matter indefinitely.

The main idea, with which the nobles in opposition started, was a claim to compensation for the sacrifice demanded from the nobility: the right to possess serfs had been the chief privilege of the nobleman; and his renunciation of this right (so they thought) should be indemnified, not only by the peasant communities who participated in the freedom, but by the government; and this by the awarding to them of new political rights. Altho' the desires expressed in this respect, were by no means exclusive, but touched on the most different matters; sometimes aiming at the remodelling of the law, sometimes at the extension of the rights of the assemblies of the nobles, sometimes at the permission to have a formal constitution, at the least a general assembly of nobles for the purpose of discussing the question of emancipation; and tho', moreover, these desires were nowhere clearly expressed, but shyly and vaguely intimated; it was not to be mistaken, that these demands emanated from a common idea, the relative justice of which was not to be denied. The unlimited absolutism of the Tzars had in a measure been restrained by the power and interest of the nobility: altho' the emperor might have been legally entitled to make the serfs free and independent peasants, of his own free will, and without the co-operation of the nobles; yet, by his appeal to the nobles, he had acknowledged, that their right to land and people had yet another basis than that of the Imperial will. If the noble ceased to retain his possession; not only he, but the whole empire was abandoned to the arbitrary will of the military and peasant-loving emperor; the entire civilisation, and the position of their representatives,

of class and rank, independent at least in name, would be left solely to the pleasure of the sovereign and to his slightest caprice. A comparison with analogous circumstances in other European states, which likewise obeyed the absolute ruling power, and yet possessed free peasants, was not indeed possible; every instance of the fact that absolutism had been, in the greater part of the world, the necessary transition-stage from feudal to civil right, could simply be answered with the appeal, that the absolute character of the power of the Russian Tzars was without its equal in Europe, and only in name differed from despotism. The absolute rulers of the west had everywhere had to deal with the ready results of advanced civilisation; their despotic power had been met by fixed political traditions, by the acknowledged rights of at least separate classes and individuals; the existence of numerous great cities, and of a cultivated body of citizens, indispensable both from their wealth and influence, had been at once the support and the limit to the royal power, when freed from the tutelage of the nobles; and had imperiously compelled it to recognise and to esteem certain interests, pre-requisite for a victorious contest with feudalism. No trace of all this was to be found in Russia, where the will of the sovereign had for centuries formed the one supreme law in all affairs of life: the existence of a limit to this, was in itself a benefit, and this wholly apart from its character and constitution. If in Russia there were to be no longer nobles to be regarded; then the absolute power of the state, which possessed also all authority over the church, ceased to have aught to regard; and the analogy with the condition of Turkey was complete.

It is true these views, brought forward by the opposition-party, were so strongly disfigured by efforts and claims of the meanest selfishness, that their justice, and the prospect of

their consideration, must have appeared more than questionable. However decidedly the good right of the government, and the humanity of the sovereign, must have been acknowledged; conceivable as it was, that the preponderating part of the nation, and even of the better and younger generation of the nobles, stood on the side of the government, and would know nothing of the self-seeking desires of the serf-keeping and inhuman opposition-party; it cannot be denied, that the instinctive aversion of the Russ aristocracy to a one-sided, and unconditional elevation of the powers of absolutism, was not without a just foundation. It is only to be imputed to the ignorance of Russian affairs, which has at all times marked the liberal party in western Europe; and which, we might believe, is coupled with the incapacity to gain an idea of circumstances, no precedents for which are be met with in the history of Romanic or Teutonic progress: to this ignorance *alone it is* to be imputed, that the friends of liberty in western Europe have always regarded the question of Russ emancipation solely from *one* side, and have issued *only* verdicts of condemnation on the hesitation of the Russ nobles. With the utmost appreciation of the justice and purity of the views which at that time marked the rule of Alexander II., many judges of Russian affairs must have said, even in the year 1859, that the loss of due balance in the Russian state, which followed on the emancipation, promised a future of surrender, more unconditional than ever hitherto, to tzaric-absolutism.

The government, after having sufficiently satisfied itself that the moral pressure exercised on the nobility was not enough to effect a speedy and decisive solution of the peasant-question, only did its duty, when, at the end of the year 1858, it took the initiative into its own hands. In the February of this same year, an imperial decree had declared;

that, wide as was the scope, which it wished to leave to the assemblies of the nobles; the principles, laid down in the rescript of the 17th December, must be regarded as unapproachable; and the decision demanded from the nobles must be based on the supposition, that the definitive arrangements, between the lords and the peasants, would be fully brought about within twelve years.

In 1859, a so-called 'great committee' on the serfdom-question was formed, consisting of twelve members, the emperor himself being present at the first sittings, and afterwards resigning the presidency to prince Alexis Orlov; a special committee, presided over by the Grand Duke Constantine, undertook at the same time the investigation of all the projects and proposals that had hitherto appeared. After repeated settlement of the fundamental principles, the committee called in the decisions, prepared meanwhile by most of the boards of nobles, in order to consign them to the inspection of a special board, consisting of Lanskoi, then minister of the interior, and of Counts Panin, Rostovzov, and Muravyev: this board had the right to summon members of the noble government-committees, and to gather information from them. Another section of the statistical committee, presided over by privy-councillor Levshin, was meanwhile employed investigating statistical matter, procured thro' the government-organs, respecting the condition of the peasant. Two committees were next formed, who, with the help of persons delegated by the government, proceeded to draw up the new law; after repeated revision of the sketches for it, the real task of drawing it up was concluded within four months, from October 1860 to the end of January 1861, and the '*Polojéniye*' was published on the 19th February 1861.

To this scanty notice, which merely touches on the formal

treatment of the matter, is confined the substance of that which was officially published, respecting the history of the most important Russian law of modern times. It is only further known, that there were *three* questions especially involved in the contest of the different parties, represented in the great Emancipation-committee: the division of the common lands from those of the court (or crown), the duration of the state of transition, and the manner in which the communities were to obtain right of property. Whilst the radical party had the interests of the peasants exclusively in view, and wished to limit the transition-period to two years, offering the proprietors scarcely any equivalent for the cession of the lands, and desiring to make the change from tenancy to possession obligatory, the conservatives, who were in league with certain court-circles, used all their influence to prolong, as much as possible, the period of transition, to see the division carried out in favor of the nobles, and to make the change from tenancy to property dependent on the will of the lord. This view was much affected by the death of Count Rostovzov, the president of the committee, which fook place in March 1860; when Count Victor Panin, minister of justice, well known for his conservative, and indeed reactionary tendencies, was appointed his successor. It was altogether a peculiar, and highly characteristic fact, that a great part of the statesmen, entrusted with the proceedings for the abolition of serfdom, belonged to the old school, and to the circle of the most intimate friends and companions of the deceased emperor. As if a work, so important as that of emancipation, was to stand out isolated, and to be incorporated without further ado into the old system; the men, who had formerly been regarded as in the imperial confidence, but who were known to the liberal masses as incarnations of the worst reactionary spirit, (Orlov, Bludov, Panin, Brock'

Dolgorukov, and Muravyev,) were entrusted with it: most of their colleagues, as well as the greater number of those employed in the government, and the committees, on the contrary, reverenced the principles of the most decided radicalism, and, on account of their greater activity and address, exercised the truly decisive influence. According to the old system, which was still the official one, no different political parties were allowed in Russia; and every one who shared the emperor's confidence, was pledged to meet this confidence by blind devotion to the Imperial will: but, in reality, it was wholly different. The same contrast was to be found in all other departments of public life. Whilst the whole immense empire was in a state of wild fermentation, and some of the assemblies of the nobles threatened to assume the character of revolutionary clubs; while the various organs of the press appeared as the plenipotentiaries of large parties, and criticised all branches of public life — a criticism, based on the principles of democracy and socialism, and aiming at an imitation of Herzen: the fiction of the old patriarchal state of things was maintained in the circle of the court and the government; and they naïvely acted and reasoned, as if indeed 'the fate of the people lay in the hands of the sovereign.' A strange jumbling of bold innovations and terrible remains of the old military despotism, confused and alarmed the spectator; especially if he entered on the consideration of the matter with west-European views, and above all inquired after a system, and after guiding principles of government-policy. The papers indulged in investigations respecting the advantages of the various socialist systems; but they dared not venture to say one word of the stormy scenes in the assemblies of the nobles; the most radical of all officials entrusted with the emancipation-question, the privy-councillor Nicolas Milyutin, was

regarded as one of the most influential advisers of the emperor; and Victor Panin, the arch-reactionist, was president of the committee; two noblemen from Tver, *Makovski* and *Europäus*, were banished to Vyätka, on account of an address which they presented in the name of their party, and which contained the word 'constitution'; and the necessity of popular representation, on a democratic basis, was at the same time the main conversation at all the clubs and political circles in the capital; the Grand Duke Constantine, (a little later sent abroad, on account of some sharp expressions which he had used respecting the reactionary obduracy of the nobles), published, in the journal of naval affairs, a cutting and unsparing condemnation of all the errors in his department of the administration; and Lanskoi, the minister of the interior, issued (October 1860) strict measures against journalist attacks on subordinate officials, either in the police or administration.

Before we enter into the main purport of the law, which regulated the circumstances of the emancipated peasants; it will be necessary for us to say a few words respecting the agrarian organisation of Russia.

The organisation of land in Russia (excepting the Baltic provinces, the formerly Polish provinces, and a part of Russia Minor), was, previous to the abolition of serfdom, substantially as follows: of the ground belonging to a manor, whether possessed by the crown or by private persons, only a distinct part, usually a third part, fell according to custom to the direct use of the lord; the rest was given to the village-community, and was left to their undivided possession. All the subjects of the estate were in equal, and almost unlimited dependence on their master; while a part of them (according to the selection of their master) lived at the manor, and formed his household retinue, or suite, the rest of the community remained in possession of the village

district which was conferred on them, with the obligation to cultivate the ground kept in his own hand by their master. The measure of this compulsory service was determined by the will of the lord; ordinarily the peasant worked three days a week for his master, and the rest for himself. At harvest-time, or whenever the master demanded it, he worked for him throughout the entire week. The village-district was not bestowed on separate members of the community, but was in the undivided possession of all; and periodically, usually every ninth year, it was allotted in equal parcels among all the families in the place. This allotment took place either according to the number of persons or per Tyäglo: that is, in the former case, every father of a family received a piece of ground, the size of which corresponded to the number of members in his family dependent on him; in the latter case, the whole area was divided among the separate families, and each portion was enlarged or diminished, according as the number of candidates had increased or lessened. There is no authentic interpretation of the term *Tyäglo*, which was only employed on private estates, as they reckoned by heads in domain-lands. As, in former times, a certain number of persons (3 to 5) were included in every Tyäglo, the term denoted subsequently a married couple; and as several families resided together (for example, a father with his grown-up sons); the term, a simple, double, threefold, &c. Tyäglo, was adopted. At every new allotment; (and, as we have heard, these recurred periodically;) all newly established households, so far as they applied for the receipt of their share, and did not withdraw in quest of other means of livelihood, were considered separately, for all had an equal claim on the lands of the village-district. Both before and after the abolition of serfdom, it constantly happened, that a peasant, who had received permission from his master, withdrew to the city, and became

a trader or artisan, and as such perhaps acquired considerable wealth; if he carried on his business no longer, or became weary of it, it was only necessary for him to make application, and at the next allotment he was again admitted. All the peasant-members of the commune, who did not belong to the great house, resided in one village; which was usually in the middle of the district. This district was divided in long narrow slips or lines, from 3 to 6 fathoms broad, and 100 to 500 long. Every new allotment, which was undertaken by the community itself, was preceded by a classification of the arable land; which was made, not so much according to its capability of yielding produce, as according to the distance of the allotments from the dwelling-places. The separate slips or strips, after they had been divided into the right number of parcels of equal size, corresponding to that of the candidates, were disposed of by lot: it was left to chance, whether the individual received the land before cultivated by him, or not. The woods, the pasture-lands, and the fisheries, &c. were left to the undivided possession of the whole community. The personal (or individual) possession of each separate member of the community, was limited to his dwelling-house, to the garden belonging to it, the cattle, horses, and movable goods. In some communities, in those especially belonging to the crown, and possessing a superabundance of land, in order to avoid too frequent allotments, a part of the district was separated off, and kept as a 'reserve-land' for families to come; until these however were ready for it, it was left to lie fallow; or, if occasion offered, it was let by lease for the benefit of the community. It depended solely on the lord, whether he indemnified himself for the land assigned to the community by work on his fields (compulsory service), or by farm-rents (the so-called *obroc*); in the domain-lands farm-rent had been ex-

clusively introduced by the minister Kissilef ever since 1840; and among the private peasants, those at least everywhere paid obroc, who had renounced their portion of land, and had settled in the city with the sanction of their master: if they became rich, and the lord desired a share of their wealth, the either gave permission for this city-residence, often at the price of thousands of rubles, or a formal redemption took place. The master, on the other hand, was pledged to take care of the physical requirements of his people, to assist them in cases of famine, scarcity, &c. and to provide for the poor, and for those incapable of work, whether they belonged to the village, or to the manor.

The law of emancipation, of the 19th February 1861, altered these relations so far, that the personal freedom of all serfs, whether peasants belonging to the village, or people attached to the household, was acknowledged; and the communities were afforded the possibility, (after a legally determined fashion, (the particulars of which do not require to be detailed here), either of gaining the district as their own property, or of holding it by lease for a moderate sum: in the *management* of the *estate*, in the *relation* of each member to the entire *community*, in the *periodical re-allotments*, in the *manner* and *style* of *taxation*, and in the *division* of the *land;* absolutely nothing was altered. The right was indeed secured to the communities of dividing their district, after they had acquired it as property, and to subdivide the separate portions; but no use was ever made of this right, and the land was retained as common possession.

As our space will not allow a complete summary of the law of emancipation; we will select from it *three* points, which appear to us of special importance, and which contain the main purport of the measure. These points are;

i. the personal position of the freed peasants;

ii. the agricultural arrangement of the community with the lord, and that of each separate member with the community;

iii. the order and government of the communities, which from its close affinity with the new administration of the communities of Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland, claims the special interest of all native readers.

All the peasants, as we have heard, were divided into settled peasants, and farm-laborers or household servants. Both classes acquired their personal freedom by the law of emancipation; their members could henceforth settle their law-affairs independently, choose their vocation, gain property, and so forth. With regard to the household-servants: in the first place, they were to remain in their former position, during the first years after the abolition of serfdom; but in the meanwhile they were to receive a settled salary from the lord: at the termination of this period, during which they were free from recruiting, and from almost all the burdens of the state, they entered into full possession of their liberty, and obtained the right of settling, either among the country communities, or in the towns; all obligations to their former masters ceased with the 19th Feb. 1863; even those individuals, who had learned an art or a trade at the expense of their masters, were exempted from the duty of further compensation. Household-servants; who had already joined the peasant-community, and had settled in it, were placed on a level with the other peasants; those who had left the estate in pursuit of gain, and had paid *obròc* (tribute) to their master, were to remain in their present condition during the two years mentioned. The *obròc*, for this transition-period, was determined by establishing a legal maximum, namely, 30 rubles for men, and 10 for women. Voluntary agreement between masters and servants, or proved ill-treatment of the latter by the

former, might entail the complete dissolution of the bond, even before the termination of the period: so long as the bond lasted, the master was pledged to maintain and support those who were feeble and incapable of labor.

As regards the settled peasants, they were, during the two years' term, to come to some arrangement with their masters respecting their future relations; but until that time, they were to remain in their present position.

In the agricultural arrangement between master and peasant, the following leading principles were accepted:

i. the whole community were to enjoy the hereditary usufruct of a part of the lands belonging to the estate; while they pledged themselves, either to purchase these of their master, or to offer him a corresponding equivalent, in farm-rent *(obròc)*, or in labor:

ii. the community entitled to this, was to include all those individuals who, at the last allotment, had been registered as serfs belonging to the village; and also those household-servants who, with the approval of their master, had settled in the village. The persons belonging to the village, residing out of the same at the period of revision, had the right to make use of their belonging to it, and to return to the community. On the other hand, all those persons were excluded from belonging to the community, who had acquired their freedom previous to the 19th February 1861.

Before we enter on the important and highly interesting discussion, with regard to the establishment of the limits of the lands to belong to the community; we must remember,

i. that the master, with regard to the land of the community, had no dealings with the members of the community, but only with this in its totality: and

ii. that a distinction is to be made between the land

of the community, and the farmsteads of separate members: the land of the community (that is, the total amount of the productive portions of land, field, meadows, pastures, copses, &c.) is available to the entire community, whose business it is, periodically to assign the separate portions to its members after the usual fashion; the community is pledged to the lord, jointly and separately, for the punctual fulfilment of all that is due to him; they decide, whether a complete redemption of the land, or whether tenancy, or compulsory service, is to be agreed on; and when the new allotments of lands are to take place; and lastly, the lord has to arrange with them the limits of the land belonging to the community. The decisions of the meeting of the commune require the assent of two thirds of those members of the community entitled to vote. If a family dies, or leaves the commune, the claim which the family may have had on the land of the community, and on the allotment of a portion, reverts to the whole. The community, when it has become the owner of the land, has also the right to abolish the condition of common possession, and to divide the land into a number of portions, corresponding to the number of the dwelling-houses, and to assign these portions once for all to the heads of families.

In contrast to the common lands, were the farmsteads of the separate members of the community; in which the entire community had no share, and to which the gardens belonged.

While the *common* land could really be the property only of the whole community, the *farmstead* was marketable by the member of the community, who held it in his possession; and the landed proprietor was obliged to give his consent to this transaction, as soon as the peasant had expressed his intention on the subject. If the two contracting

parties could not agree amicably as to the price, a decision took place, according to which the purchaser was to pay, as purchase-price, 16 rubles 67 *copéycas*, for every ruble, [one *ruble*, or 100 *copeycas*, = four *shillings* English;] which he had hitherto paid as rent; if the peasant paid in service, the number of days assigned for soccage-duty was reckoned in moneys, according to a standard, recognised once for all, and converted into capital according to the measure stated above. According as the separate proprietor of the farmstead bought the farmstead; or the whole community acquired the entire area of their farmsteads, and this acquisition happened at the time of the redemption of the arable land, or not; the following different cases were possible:

i. The separate proprietor might buy his farmstead alone;

ii. the community might buy the whole area of the farmsteads, and no arable land;

iii. the community might purchase the area of the farmsteads and a portion of the arable land; or

iv. the community might purchase the area of the farmsteads and all the arable land.

These four different cases were not strictly distinguished from each other in the law of the 19th February. If the area of the farmstead was purchased with the arable land, or with a part of it; the purchaser received assistance from the state; $^4/_5$ of the purchase price in the former case, and $^3/_4$ of the purchase-price in the latter case, being advanced to him. In this manner the redemption of the farmsteads was closelyco nnected with that of the arable land; and yet both categories were to be strictly separate from each other, and were treated on thoroughly different principles.

Except the cases in which separate members of the community acquired their farmsteads independently, the

question as to the modifications and conditions of the redemption of the farmstead, is only to be examined in connexion with the decisions respecting the arable land. As the directions respecting the price of separate sales have been already stated, we can pass on directly to the arable or common land; and this leads us again back to communism, the basis of all peasant-life in Russia: whatever existed apart from this, was regarded as an anomaly; and, as the statements with regard to the separate sale prove, was only cursorily glanced at by the legislature.

As the decisions as to the question, who were to be regarded as members of a peasant-community, have been already discussed; we can at once turn to the most difficult, and most complicated of all the questions, referring to the agricultural arrangements between master and peasant; namely, that respecting the limits of the common land. If we take into consideration, that in Russia a register of landed estates had not hitherto taken place, that details of property confirmed by those in authority were rare, and that, for centuries, the custom and will of the master had decided, what portions of the estate were in the direct usufruct of the manor, and what portions in that of the community; we shall have no doubt as to the difficulty of an arrangement in this matter. The only rule in force, up to the 19th February 1861, was, that every peasant was to have at least 4½ *deçätinas* [one *deçätina*, or *tenth*, — 2,69972 Engl. *acres*] for his maintenance. On the question, as to the fixing of the limits between the land belonging to the master, and that belonging to the community, this decision was scarcely regarded: in the first place, it was nowhere stated where the peasant was to seek his 4½ deçätinas; and, in the second place, the allotment, as we have seen, was not always per head, but frequently per *tyägló* (married

pair with children not grown up). To the peasant, everything depended on his receiving the most productive portions of land, and portions already in a state of culture; while it lay in the interest of the master, not to lose, from his direct possession, all the arable land that had been assigned to the peasant temporarily or accidentally.

The law recommended, with regard to the fixing of the limits of the common land, an amicable settlement between the parties concerned; and restricted itself in this case to settling the minimum for the community. In the just presumption that, in this respect, amicable arrangements would be among the exceptions, the legislator at once drew up a series of rules, to be observed in cases of existing difference of opinion.

With the difference in the territorial relations and in the population in the various parts of the immense empire, it was impossible to lay down the same principles everywhere, with regard to the fixing of the extent of the common lands. In order to ascertain the amount of the lands to be bestowed on the different communities; all the provinces acquainted with the custom of using common property and alternating portions, were divided into *three* great categories or zones, which were again subdivided into regions: different principles were in force in every zone, and different measures in every region.

To the *first* zone belonged all those provinces and districts whose soil consisted neither of dark earth, nor of desert land; this embraced *nine* different regions. The *second* zone, consisting of *eight* regions, comprised the provinces of dark soil; and the *third* zone, with *twelve* regions, the *steppe* provinces. In the first *two* zones, the maximum and minimum amounts of the share awarded to each person were settled, and they were different in every region. Multiplying the number of persons by the decâtinas contained in each portion, the result showed the whole extent of the common

land. The maximum only occurred, when a third of the whole area capable of cultivation, remained in the hands of the landed proprietor; *i. e.* when the property was so large, or so scantily peopled, that the whole sum of the maximum allotments for each separate share did not exceed $^2/_3$ of the available portions of the entire property; the common land could in no case be diminished below the minimum for each separate share. In these zones, it was made a general rule, that those territories should be assigned to the community, which they had hitherto cultivated; exchanges were only permissible with the agreement of those concerned, and in the presumption of their contiguity with the rest of the land. In every case the common land was to bound the farmsteads, or to be connected with them. The minimum and maximum sums were different in the different regions. Thoroughly different principles were in force in the *third* zone (the steppe land); no maximum, and no minimum, were adopted here; but once for all it was fixed how great was to be the share of each member of the community; at the same time it was arranged that the lord was to retain the half of the area capable of cultivation. The separate portions in this zone were also different, according to the different regions; sometimes 3 deçatinas, as at Rostov; and sometimes 8, as at Nicolayevsk. All these arrangements were based on existing circumstances, and were made with the utmost possible regard to the *status quo;* the intention of the legislator aimed at retaining the shares of the peasants, as far as possible, unaltered. On this principle was carried out the division of the land into zones and regions, and the free range between the maximum and minimum amounts, with the utmost possible retention of established usage: care was taken to obtain an average standard; both to avoid exorbitant demands on the part of the communities, and to prevent

the impoverishment of those peasants who had usually fared worse than their neighbours.

While we pass over all further details, we must yet add, with reference to the condition of the land falling to the communities, that unproductive portions, even when they were enclosed in peasant-property, were not included; consequently the disposal of these portions was left entirely to the lord. Salt soils might be reckoned in the land to be allotted, nevertheless they constituted less than half of the whole peasant-territory; and moreover three deçätines of salt soil were regarded as equal only to one deçätine of productive land. As a general rule, wood-lands were not reckoned as common land; but copses, which had been within the peasants' district, before its demarcation, and which were used by the community, were left to them. In a part of the second zone (the dark soil), forests and copses were also reckoned as common land: if they lay in the neighbourhood of high roads, rivers, or railways, a proviso sometimes occurred in favor of the proprietor. With regard to meadows, the *status quo* was retained in the use of them, until by either party their division was proposed.

By the terms laid down in the *polojéniye* (settlement), the arrangements respecting the division of the land, assigned provisionally to the use of the community, were to be concluded and confirmed within two years; while a further term of six years was to see the definitive division accomplished. As a basis to the establishment of the limits of the common land, in accordance with the principles stated above, a formal agricultural arrangement took place, *i. e.* the amount of the products was fixed, with which the communities were to furnish their proprietors, from the lands allotted to them.

During the first nine years (therefore till the 19th February 1870) the peasants, even if they have purchased their farm-

steads, are pledged to remain in usufruct of the lands assigned to the commune. If communities and proprietors are agreed that the commune be satisfied with a portion of their land, and give back the remainder to the proprietor; such arrangements are permissible, under certain conditions and limitations; in the first two zones, the half of the maximum must at any rate remain to the community, and in the third zone the half of the legal portion. Lastly, the proprietor, if the community give their assent, can settle with them to give them a fourth part of the maximum (in the third zone the legal portion), and to keep the remainder as his property. The design of these peculiar injunctions, which obliged the communities to retain a certain portion of the land, and which seem to proceed from the presumption, that they would only too willingly have given their consent to a diminution of this portion; cannot be doubtful to those of our readers, who are acquainted with the rural condition of Russia; the right to a portion of land, the largest possible, is combined with the obligation to make use of it; and the lawgiver, to whom the disinclination of the Russ peasant to agricultural work was well known, wished on the one hand to protect the proprietor from the danger of seeing his lands lie fallow during the sweet months of peasant-freedom; and on the other hand, to avert the possibility, which might arise from inconsiderately renouncing all claim on work-hating communities, of their complete dispossession. For the reader unacquainted with these circumstances, it affords indeed a peculiar picture, to see the legislature at the same time anxious to the utmost for the rich endowment of the community, and also for the acceptance of these gifts on the part of the recipients.

The amount of the lands assigned to the community, regulated the amount of the product to be yielded for

them. In proportion as a community claimed, and received the maximum, or the minimum of the common land, or renounced the remainder for the sake of the fourth part of the maximum; it had much, little, or nothing, to render to the proprietor.

As we have before said, the community itself had to determine in what manner it would discharge its obligations to the proprietor, whether by payment of rent, or by compulsory service, or by means of the purchase of peasant-land and farmsteads; that the farmsteads could be also purchased without the arable land, is already known to the reader; but that the arable land was not to be bought without the farmstead, is evident; for in the separation and independent constitution of the community, their dwellings must also be cared for. At the same time, the before-mentioned decision was to be adhered to; namely, that the community were pledged to cultivate the lands of which they were in possession, until February 1870; unless on the other hand they had agreed with their lord, to receive, as a gift from him, a third part of the maximum, and to renounce the rest; only if they possessed more than the maximum, was the right conceded to the community of diminishing their allotment of land to the maximum, after the expiration of the first five years, and this without regard to the wishes of their master.

If the community declared, that they would pay their master rent *(obroc)* for the possession of the land, the account of this 'obroc' was left to unbiassed mutual agreement under the interposition of the peace-mediator. If this agreement was not brought about, a succession of legally-ordered rates was enacted, standing in close connexion with the distribution in zones and regions. Under the general principle that the amount of rent, or *obroc*, should in no case exceed

the amount paid previous to the regulation; the following special rules were introduced. Corresponding with the maximum-share of land in the first two zones, and the legally fixed share in the third zone, the payments per portion were to be:

1. On estates distant from St. Petersburg not more than 25 *versts* (each = $^5/_7$ths of an English *mile*), 12 rubles;

2. on all other estates in the districts of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Yaroslav, Vladimir, and Nijni-Novgorod (except those estates lying more than 15 versts from the Volga), 10 rubles;

3. on the estates of the districts of Vyätka, Moghilev, Vitebsk, Olonetz, as well as certain districts in Kazan, Orel, Pensa, Pleskov, Smolensk, and Tambov, 8 rubles;

4. on all other estates in Russia, 9 rubles. If the peasants have received less than the maximum, the obroc is to be diminished in corresponding proportion. We will pass over the details of this extraordinarily complicated method of calculation, which adopts a different amount for every deçätina; as its explanation would require a series of exemplifications which would exceed the space of this sketch. For the first twenty years, these obroc-amounts were not to be altered. If the commune considered it more advantageous to yield compulsory service instead of rent-payment, the measure of service to be given was likewise to be fixed under the interposition of the peace-mediator: the agreement made was to last only for *three* years. The computation of the amount of work to be performed is tolerably simple, as it is independent of the division into zones and regions. If the community had received the maximum (and in the third zone the full legal portion), the separate share for men was 40 days annually, and for women 30; three-fifths of this in summer, and two-fifths in winter. If the community had received less than the maximum, a reduction in the requirements took place on the same scale as that observed in

the reduction of the rent-amount. After the end of the three years, it rested with the will of the community, whether they would pay '*obroc*', instead of compulsory service, or continue the relations that had hitherto existed. A return from obroc to voluntary service, on the other hand, was not legally allowed; as, however, the Moscow journal and other organs of the Russian press occasionally stated, this latter order was constantly evaded; and proprietors and peasants agreed privately in various districts to restore for a time the system of compulsory service, which had been too hastily changed into rent. Before a community had passed from compulsory service to payment of rent, they had no right to the acquisition of arable land, though they might purchase farmsteads. That only rent-paying and not service-yielding communities could think of acquiring land, lies in the nature of the matter, and needs no further justification. Obroc-yielding communities, on the other hand, were allowed, even during the year of tenure, to purchase peasant-land, and the same right belonged to the proprietor. The leading features of the proceeding in this case taking place, have been already stated, when the redemption of the farmsteads and the arrangements respecting the limits of the land of the community were discussed. The capital, to be paid for the acquisition of arable land, was reckoned in the same manner as the amount of sums to be paid for the farmsteads; *i. e.* sixteen times and two thirds the amount of the rent. If the arable land, or a portion of it together with the farmsteads, was purchased by the community, the support of the state was afforded to the purchaser. If the whole of the area was purchased, the state advanced the peasants $^4/_5$ of the purchase-price (80 *copeycas* on each ruble to be paid); and the remainder was paid by the members of the commune; if the community bought only a portion

of the land due to them (but which must, at least, have amounted to a third of the maximum), dispensing with the remainder; the state only advanced $^3/_4$ of the purchase-price. The money advanced by the state to the communities, was given on the security of the common land, was to be repaid by instalments, and within 49 years to be liquidated.

In these remarks we have endeavored to give the main purport of the legal regulations, decreed on the 19th February 1861, with regard to the agricultural arrangements between master and peasant. Thro' all the numerous decisions, we see the two leading intentions of the legislator, passing like parallel streaks of red thread: namely, to hasten, as much as possible, the redemption of the common lands from those belonging to the proprietor; and to unite the communities, as closely as possible, with the soil they had hitherto cultivated. While on the one hand, for the sake of as much despatch as possible in the arrangements, a succession of rules aimed at making the gratuitous cession of a part of the area of the commune as plausible as possible to the proprietor, by securing to him all that remained; on the other hand, they endeavored to preserve the communities from an inconsiderate renouncement of the basis of their existence, arising from their dread of work. Only when we bear in mind this two-fold tendency of the legislation of the 19th February 1861, can we gain a right understanding of the apparently contradictory decisions; which at *one* time, appealing to agricultural necessity, fixed the limits of the common land as wide as possible, at *others* shewed allotments with a smaller area to be possible; which in the *one* case introduced measures of compulsion in order to bind the communities, at least partially, to the soil bestowed on them; and in the *other*, seemed to start with the assumption, that so the peasant was but to possess land at all, the

amount of it was not of much importance. If we have thoroughly understood the matter; if we have perceived, that the government must have been no less intent on succouring the ignorance of masses yet uncultivated and afraid of work, and on compelling them to accept the advantages offered them, than it was in affording a certain scope to the right of the communities to judge for themselves, owing to their accurate knowledge of local circumstances; if once we have perceived this, the apparent contradictions of this great legislative act resolve into a higher unity, to which we cannot refuse acknowledgment, or admiration.

As in an agricultural respect, so also in its administrative and political bearing, is the Russ rural community essentially different from that of western Europe; the institution of the *Volost* (or district, in which several communities were united, in order to form the lowest administrative, political, and judiciary unity), is a Russ peculiarity, no fitting analogy with which is to be found in western Europe (including even the western parts of the Russian empire).

That several communities should be blended with each other, is elsewhere the case; this blending did not, however, necessitate the abolition of the former unity; it did not jar against the idea of the community *(commune*, or *gemeinde)*, but it merely procured it a broader basis.

Quite otherwise was it in the Russian government; in which, as we have seen, the members of a community were closely bound together by a common possession, and were completely dependent on each other. Here the different communities continued separate from each other; hence they could rise to political importance only by combining with other neighboring communities to form a *Volost* or district. The affairs which the commune was empowered to manage independently, were chiefly of an agricultural character, and

were necessitated by the circumstance of common possession of the soil, and common obligation to the proprietor; or to the crown, if the latter had advanced the means for the purchase of the land; they extended, further, to the exclusion and admission of members, to the reorganisation of affairs connected with the poor and with schools; and they were decided by the assembly of all heads of families presided over by the *starosta*, or *elder*, of the community. According as the common land was allotted per head, or per *tyäglo;** and a family, composed of various couples residing together, were in possession of several *tyäglos;* it was their right to send several representatives to the assembly of the community. The starosta elected by the community was village judge and head of the police; his power of punishment nevertheless was limited to fines amounting to one ruble, and compulsory work for two days; in other matters he was subordinate to the district-elder, and to the district-administration.

The Volost, or district, into which the communes of one, or of several parishes, were to be combined, could only consist of *entire* communities, and was to comprise at the least 300 males, and at the most 2000; the greatest distance between dwellings situated within a Volost was to amount to 12 versts. At the head of this district stood the Volost-elder *(starshina)* surrounded by the Volost-council, which consisted of the starostas and the assistant-starostas in the different communities. In deliberations of importance, and in resolutions which concerned the whole district, he summoned the Volost-assemblies, which consisted of deputies from

* The difference of allotment per head, and per *tyaglo*, has been already mentioned. As we already know, the law of the 19th February reckoned only per head; it is, however, in no wise hereby forbidden that the community should divide the land per *tyaglo*, according to old custom, tho' it was computed per head.

the different communities, chosen from every ten heads of families; as head of the police, the starshina was foremost of all the starostas; who received their orders from him, and had to render him an account. The relation in which the district stood to the starshina, corresponds in general to that of the commune to the starosta. With the assistance of the Volost-council he carried out the decrees of the Volost-assemblies, which referred to the general affairs of the district, especially such as related to recruiting matters, taxation, and the Volost-revenue; the officials of the commune were also elected, appointed, and dismissed by this assembly. As head of the police, the elder stood subordinate to the *(mirovíye-Súdya)* justice of the peace; his jurisdiction ran parallel with that of the starosta. Lastly, every year the members of the Volost court of justice were chosen from the Volost-assembly, which consisted of deputies from the commune; the assembly chose, according to its size, four to twelve judges, three of whom in turn officiated and sat in judgment. Their jurisdiction extended to all civil disputes involving less than 100 rubles, and to lawsuits which *per prorogationem* were brought to this tribunal; they were also authorised to punish trifling crimes and offences. The proprietors residing within the Volost, as well as all the persons in their service, were exempt from the police-authority of the starostas and elders; if they were called in question for crimes and errors committed, those found guilty were given over to the police by the officials of the commune and of the Volost.

Such is, in essentials, the purport of the famous emancipation-law of the 19th February 1861.

Let us now turn our attention to the epoch in which this law was published. As regards the effect of the new law on the mind of the population, it was soon evidenced,

that the cultivated classes, burdened as they were with sacrifices for the work of reform, expressed their joy and satisfaction at this great acquisition, far more readily than the peasants, whom it immediately concerned. The disaffected portion of the Russ nobility was and remained decidedly in the minority; especially under the first impression of the great and decided step that had been taken, no one ventured to manifest disapproval. Public opinion had declared itself too decidedly in favor of the government for any one to venture on opposition. On the contrary, the number was by no means unimportant, of those among the nobles and officials, who exceeded even the demands of the government, and who could not suppress their vexation, that their desire, that the lands possessed by the community should be gratuitously transferred into their property, had been disregarded. Altho' these voices were not distinctly audible until a later period, still from the first they had influence, because they could reckon on the sympathies of the freed portion of the population. Moreover a great part of the nobles, at that time, looked for a rich compensation for the sacrifice they had made; they hoped to be able to excite public opinion in favor of the embryo demand for the restoration of a constitution, and by its assistance to reach the desired goal. Thus the disaffected feelings of the hitherto ruling classes were veiled, and maintained in one balance, by hopes of the future; at the most a small band of stubborn adherents to the system of Nicolas grumbled at the liberalism come into fashion, could not conceal their vexation at the loss of their revenues, and used every effort to recover their lost influence in the court circles.

The Russian peasant received the important tidings of the breaking of his fetters with profound silence; and some time elapsed before he had made up his mind what posi-

tion to assume with regard to it. Partly, the habitual want of freedom had become too inveterate, and was too deeply rooted, to be at once cast aside; and partly, the attention of the people was too eagerly directed to the still pending agricultural arrangements with the proprietors, for the publication of the emancipation edict to make at once any evident impression. The effect of the emancipation act was felt most strongly and evidently in the two capitals of the empire: here there were thousands of serfs living (as merchants, second-hand dealers, artisans, drivers, servants, &c.) who had been obliged to purchase with high obroc-payments the right of seeking their gain, and were always in danger of being recalled by the will of their masters, and constrained to return to the old position of dependence: To these, the advantages of the newly established arrangement of things were manifest, and the fruits of it could at once be enjoyed; the emancipation law limited the duration of their dependence to merely two years, and fixed an unimportant obroc-sum for this transition period. From these town-serfs, therefore, proceeded the first exhibitions of thankfulness and joy, the first ovations to the 'liberating Tzar' *(Tçáry'-osvobodítel)*. But here also the weak, womanish character of the Slavonic race, did not belie itself; there was no idea of passionate outbursts. The Petersburg descriptions of those momentous February days tell most characteristically of intoxicated bands of bearded cab-drivers and artisans, who reeled through the streets, humming as they went 'Volyushka, Volyushka' (literally, 'darling freedom'). Truly effective, however, was the shout of rejoicing, with which the masses of the people received the emperor when he quitted the winter-palace, on the 19th February, in order to be present at the reading of the emancipation-ukàz in the Kazàn church; and subsequently, the

addresses sent to the Emperor by the drivers and lower class of citizens in the two capitals, who had been freed from serfdom.

Altho' this law had been published throughout the whole empire on the same day in all the churches, and the *(mirovuye-Posredniki)* peace-Mediators had at once proceeded to regulate the agricultural questions; the first more important manifestations in the country did not occur until two months later, in the end of April 1861. These were manifestations of dissatisfaction and disappointment, which appeared East of the Volga, and had the districts of Kazan and Nijni-Novgorod for their principal centre. In all probability they were revolutionary agitators from the higher and more cultivated classes who first scattered the seeds of discontent. The people were persuaded that the true emancipation-ukàz of the Tzar had been craftily intercepted by the nobles and officials; that the will of the Tzar was to consign to the peasants, without compensation or hindrance, the land they had hitherto cultivated. These doctrines fell on a soil all the more ready, as the services yielded to the masters were in the eyes of the people of a purely personal nature, and were no equivalents for the lands conceded to the communities. 'We belong to the proprietors, but the common land belongs to us', was the creed of the peasant; hence the feeling was, that the abolition of personal servitude was synonymous with the establishment of free property. In the Kazan district, matters soon reached a pitch of open refusal to obedience; and when the magistrates interfered, they amounted to attempts at resistance. Popular discontent assumed at once a genuinely national stamp; it found a leader in a new *Pugatchev*, the peasant *Anton Petrov*, who personated the tzar (who had fled from Petersburg, pursued by the Boyárs); and within a short time he had gathered round him

10,000 men. After vain attempts to bring back the infatuated men by gentle means to obedience, military power was obliged to be employed. Some battalions, led by Count *Apraxin*, marched thro' the insurgent country, and took the ringleader prisoner; and after Petrov had fallen into their hands, and had been immediately shot, order was again so completely established, that in May nothing further was thought of this episode. The peasants returned to their obedience, and everywhere the arrangements of the peace-Arbitrator were complied with. Yet the idea of the perfect freedom hoped for, was not yet wholly forgotten; the Volga-districts remained for some time longer the scene of revolutionary experiments, which excited the people with the hope of a 'new freedom' still to be expected, and held fast to the old idea of a gratuitous division of the soil. Under the title '*Zemliyä i Volyä*' (Land and Freedom), there appeared from time to time secretly published pamphlets, which endeavored to give the agrarian question a revolutionary coloring, and which were numerously circulated, in the eastern districts especially. These manifestations of a propaganda, secretly inflaming the public mind, we shall meet with again in other places, and under other forms.

In general, the completion of the arrangement between peasant and lord was unexpectedly quick, and favorable in its course. Little as it can be asserted, that the Russ peasant subsequently made a just use of his new-born liberty, or that agricultural progress exhibited any favorable influence from it; still it is evident, that the peasant-population manifested in the arrangement good-will, a just insight into the state of affairs, and great tractableness; and that this matter was justly conceived and handled by those entrusted with it. The execution of the law of the 19th February 1861, was not placed in the hands of ordinary magistrates, but

was consigned to officials, who were selected *ad hoc* from the number of landed proprietors, and were furnished with extensive authority. It was a happy idea, and one of decided and lasting importance, that these peace-Mediators, or Arbitrators, as they were called *(mirovïye Posredniki)*, were not reckoned in the service of the state, and were not fettered to the orders of the bureaucratic hierarchy. For the first time in Russia, men of the most different calling, and social position, stood side by side with equal right to join hands for the execution of a patriotic work, which promised neither title, rank, nor advancement. Generals in the command, and mere lieutenants, councillors of the state, and simple titular councillors, once the choice of their fellow-citizens and class-equals fell on them, demanded leave of absence from service, in order to undertake, according to the law, the demarcation between the estates of the nobles and the lands of the community within definite districts, and to induce both parties to agree; it was only where this result could not be attained, that the strict orders of the regulations were enforced, and the co-operation of higher authority was appealed to.

After the disorders that had broken out in the Volga-districts had been hushed, and the proceedings of the peace-Mediators were taking their course, the attention of the government was turned again to subjects with which it had been occupied at the end of the year 1860; namely, the means for quieting the disorders in *Varsháva* (Warsaw) and other Polish cities, and the long needed remodelling of the universities. These step-children of the department for national enlightenment, which under the former government had been treated with intentional malevolence, had acquired an unexpected importance, in consequence of the altered tendency of the national mind; and had become central points

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of the revolutionary excitement, long fermenting in all cultivated classes of Russian society. No sooner had the barriers fallen (which had limited the number of students to 300, and had excluded the sons of certain classes from the academical right of citizens), than the young men crowded in troops to these places of culture, which had hitherto been regarded with contempt. The ill-feeling of the old *régime* towards these institutions was not the least cogent reason for their sudden popularity; the reverse of everything that had hitherto been in force was now to be tried, there was a feeling against the old authorities, and a prejudice in favor of the step-children of the former system. This change showed itself of course, most naturally, in the two capitals of the empire, and in the higher and highest classes; if before, the officer of the guard had occupied the first place, and good breeding had excluded every participation in serious matters, and had stigmatised liberal political views; now student-life came into fashion, the well-bred idleness of the guards was looked on as a crime; every man who made any claims to position, must enter into politics; and the worst reproach, that could be brought against a young nobleman, was that of being a '*gant jaune tout-court.*'

Thus it was that the formerly scarce regarded professors of the St. Petersburg university, suddenly stood at the head of public opinion; every one desired to study, and to take part in scientific efforts; and even women demanded access to the academical lecture-rooms. The youthful students, who heard on all sides that they were destined to be the main instrument of the better future of their country; completely lost their heads. Instead of pursuing studies, they gave their attention to politics, and felt bound to lead public opinion, and to labour at the destruction of the old state of things. As nothing which before possessed impor-

tance was now held good, it is not to be wondered at that the young people had no respect for anything, asserted that they could learn of no one, and knew every thing better. Instead of attending lectures, they held meetings, at which they discussed the remodelling of the entire system of education, and framed pompous resolutions; instead of taking notes of lectures, they wrote articles for the newly established student-paper, or for the Sovremennik; and their reading was limited substantially to the study of the Kolokol, the Pole-star, and other writings of Herzen. As a characteristic of the giddiness which had seized the Russian youth of that time, we will mention a reliable anecdote of the spring of 1861. One day a pupil at the gymnasium sent in his name to the privy-councillor Lenz, the dean of the philosophical faculty, and presented him a manuscript, with the request to look thro' it, and to publish it. The astonishment of the distinguished scholar may be imagined, when he found it contained the complete plan of a new system of instruction, based on radical principles, to the preparation of which the immature youth had felt himself called.

That a remodelling of the existing arrangement of studies and of the rules for the students was needed, had indeed long been acknowledged, and that in all classes of society. The old regulations, which obliged the students to wear uniform, and compelled them to half-yearly examinations; which subjected the college-papers of the academical teachers to the censorship and confirmation of the authorities, and prescribed the use of old and unserviceable books; stood in too ridiculous contrast to the prevailing spirit and actual freedom from all these restrictions, to be retained without detriment. The preparation of a new law regarding study and university discipline was needed, which should at once make allowance for the claims of the present, and place

a barrier to the increasing wildness and insubordination; and indeed such a work had already for some time occupied the liberal-minded, but uninfluential minister of education, *Kovalevski*. His project recommended the adoption of principles tested and acknowledged in Germany; namely the right of self-decision and co-optation belonging to the academical senate, the utmost possible freedom of instruction, and the abolition of the old military rules, which had treated the students like cadets. This project (in a way sufficiently characteristic of the want of judgment and principle, in those that immediately surrounded the sovereign), was committed to the examination of a committee, formed of out-and-out reactionaries; men who had grown gray in the old traditions of military absolutism, but who had taken part also in the emancipation of the serfs: men, such as Count *Victor Panin*, the minister of justice (whose entrance into the peasant-committee had been deplored by the Kolokol in March 1860 with a black mourning edge), Prince *Dolgurukov*, the head of the secret police, and Count *Stroganov*, the tutor of the heir-apparent. The decision passed by these men on Kovalevski's plan fell like a sentence of death; the liberal minister of education was obliged to retire, and his work devolved on Admiral Count *Putyätin*, who had shortly before returned from Japan, a foolish fanatic of the retrograde party, and a bigoted admirer of the byzantine hierarchy. This appointment, which had been made without any foreboding of its important result, appeared only too like a challenge to public feeling; and as Putyätin was moreover shortsighted, characterless, and utterly incapable, it speedily led to a defeat of the government, as painful as it was striking, and to an insurrection, limited it is true to the academical youth, but accompanied with the sympathy of the greater part of society.

During the winter of 1860—1861, Putyätin had prepared a new law, which received Imperial confirmation, and was published in May — three months after the emancipation-ukàz, and at the time of the most passionate excitement. All the freedom, hitherto really conceded to the students, had been taken from them by this law; to prevent the thronging of the masses to the universities, the entrance-fee was raised half-yearly to 50 silver Rubles. The students were forbidden to hold meetings, to continue their fund, lately established, for the support of poor fellow-students, to choose deputies for the management of this fund; and so forth. It seemed to have been the intentional object to check the current of the intellectual movement, and to provoke the opposition both of the scholars and of the liberal-minded among their teachers; for the freedom of the professors was limited to the utmost. As the half-year was drawing to a close, the students were occupied with their examinations, and preparing for the vacation; so that all at first remained quiet, and Count Putyätin boasted already of having broken the spirit of refractoriness, which the weakness of his conniving predecessor had excited.

Scarcely however had the academic youth re-assembled in the autumn, when a storm of revolt broke forth, and this simultaneously in St. Petersburg, Mosc'va, Kharkov, and Kiyev, at which latter place numerous Poles were studying. Petersburg took the lead, by setting an example of open resistance to the new law; and by an unfortunate combination of circumstances, the Emperor, from whom the students looked for assistance, was absent, and had been in the Crimea for some time with his consort. The students refused *en masse* to sign the declaration, laid before them at the re-opening of the lectures, and by which they were to pledge themselves to obey the new law. On the 23rd September,

a protest was handed in to *Sresnevski*, the acting *vice*-Rector, signed by several hundred students the signers of which protested against the raising of the fee of admission, the abolition of their assistance-fund, and the prohibition to carry on the students' Journal, which had been allowed them by the Emperor; and they demanded immediate redress of their grievances. The rector replied by closing the lectures, the library, and the laboratories; and when, on the 24th September, nine hundred students were assembled on the square in front of the university-building, they found the gates of it closed. The porter declared, that the curator *Philippson* had ordered this measure. Accompanied by an immense mass of people, and strengthened by a numerous body of young officers and cadets, the assembled students proceeded to the house of the curator to demand explanation. General *Patkul*, the head of the police in the capital, who had hurried to the spot, and the Grand Duke Constantine, who happened to meet the procession, had vainly called on the excited youths to disperse. Arrived at the house of the curator, the students drew up in close columns, while a deputation repaired to Philippson's dwelling to treat with him; a number of gensd'armes, who attempted to oppose them, were driven away with threats and upraised sticks. While the deputies were negociating with Philippson, and were ordered by him to repair to the university-building, where he promised to answer them, Count *Shuvalov*, the head of the secret police, and Generals Patkul and Ignatyev with a number of soldiers, surrounded the students on all sides; but the youths, who well knew that the public were on their side, and that their adversaries would not venture to make any use of their arms, broke through the ranks of the soldiers, and dispersed unharmed through the city, here and there greeted with tokens of concurrence. Meanwhile

the curator, Philippson, had repaired to the university-building, and had negociated with the deputation; but they could not arrive at an agreement, as he demanded the signature of the declaration as a preliminary to all further negociation; and this the students refused. But a result seemed attained; the curator, and *Ignatyev* the governor-general, who was also present, had promised on their words of honor, that the lectures should be opened again on the 2nd October, and the libraries and laboratories on the following morning, and that no one should be punished, or placed under arrest. The students, on the other hand, promised no longer to disturb the repose of the city.

Who can describe the rage of the students, and the agitation throughout the whole city, when on the following morning (25th September) the university-buildings were closed *contrary* to agreement, and the tidings spread that the deputies and spokesmen of the student-party had been surprised in the night by gensd'armes, and had been thrown into prison. The students, assembled on the university square, determined to disperse, to choose new deputies, and through these to demand an account of the proceedings. The following morning they again assembled at the same place, when suddenly the curator Philippson appeared, and solemnly declared that the closing of the university, and the arrest of the deputies, had occurred contrary to his desire, and without his co-operation; that he had expressed himself to the minister on behalf of the scholars, and had demanded and promoted the fulfilment of their wishes. The students now resolved to present an address to the minister, who seemed to be the main offender; while the paper, drawn up in haste in the open street, was in circulation to be signed, soldiers appeared on all sides, in order, it was said, to take with the bayonet the university-build-

ing, the gates of which the students had in the meanwhile seized. The public, who had again assembled in numbers, made such strong demonstration in favor of the students, that the troops were again withdrawn. Again a deputation of five persons met, to negociate this time with the minister, as they had before done with the curator; and so great was the fear felt at the indignation of the excited students, that these deputies, after vain negociation, quitted the minister's house unassailed. The cowardice which the director of educational matters had shewn throughout the whole affair, was consistent with his dishonorable perfidy and resolute severity towards the infatuated youths. In the night of the 27th and 28th September, the five deputies, who had been in the house of the minister, and various other ringleaders, were arrested and dragged to a fortress; and the university-building was occupied by a detachment of infantry of the guard.

Far more scandalous than these scenes were the subsequent attempts made by their originators to justify their proceedings. The young men, who had taken part in them, were, it is true, severely punished, (every student who did not sign the declaration within 48 hours, was dealt with by the police,) the university lectures were closed for many months; but all the higher officials concerned in it, were obliged soon after to lay down their appointments; and they had to bear, besides this, the heavy consequences of public contempt and ill will. The Kolokol published a detailed account of the whole proceeding, mentioned by name all the persons who had taken part in it, and expressed itself so decidedly in favor of the students, that no one who claimed public consideration could venture to mention Putyätin, Philippson, or Ignatyev. Even the innocent officers who had been in command at the occupation of the university, and again at the relinquished attempt to disperse the students,

who had gathered round Philippson's house, found no dancing partners at the balls of the following winter.

Still more serious perhaps, tho' only of short duration, were the student disorders in Mosc'va: the same causes were at work here as in St. Petersburg, producing the same demonstrations, and finally coming to a collision with the military, in which several students were wounded. In both capitals the professors took the side of the scholars; especially in St. Petersburg, where Philippson's faithless conduct was universally condemned; and many esteemed academical teachers endeavoured to intervene in favor of their pupils. Putyätin made the existing evil still worse, by playing the pasha without regard to the altered times, and treating the university teachers with contempt and rudeness, compelling them even to resign their office. The whole cultivated portion of the nation, however, stood on their side; while the unfortunate minister was harshly received by the Emperor, now returned from the Crimea, was obliged at once to resign his appointment, and was replaced by *Golovnin*, the secretary of state.

Thus the new year began amid alarming tokens of every kind. The student disturbances were ever on the lips of all, and met with universal sympathy. When the lectures at the university had been closed, the favorite academical teachers, besides many liberal scholars and journalists, delivered public lectures, which were attended by the public with unprecedented readiness. The orators here surpassed themselves in radical eccentricities: *Kostomarov*, a liberal scholar hitherto highly esteemed, was hissed off the platform when he expressed himself in the spirit of moderation and reason; and when professor *Pavlov* plainly challenged to insurrection, and, at least, to insubordination against the government, there was nothing left, but to close the

public lectures. The newly-established Sunday-schools, which were also used for the dissemination of revolutionary teaching, still remained in existence for a time; the chess-club too, at which the radical leaders assembled, and which, as all the world knew, was the central point of the whole agitation, remained undisturbed. The government wavered unsteadily between the extremes. Whilst it could not decide on suppressing the agitations by means of the press, and the official journals constantly spoke of the great liberal reforms in preparation, Professor Pavlov was sent without investigation to Siberia, and the imprisoned students were treated with pitiless severity. The public were exhorted to obedience, and the authority of the officials who had drawn upon themselves the public indignation was endeavoured to be maintained; while at the same time they could not help filling a great part of the higher appointments with men of strong liberal tendencies. At the beginning of January 1862, no less than three new ministers were appointed. General *Seleny*, who was considered a decided democrat, received the administration of domains (his predecessor was General *Muravyev*, well known in the Lithuanian insurrection); Herr *v. Reutern* was made minister of finance; the post of minister of war was consigned to General *Milyutin*, a decided enemy to the old system, who in common with his brother, the secretary of state, had distinguished himself as a zealous champion in the emancipation of the peasants. A year before, the post of minister of the interior had been taken from General Lanskoi, and given to the privy councillor Valúyev, a man who was inclined to the ideas of west-European liberalism, and was known to be a friend to German culture. The important office of governor-general of Petersburg was, soon after the adjustment of the student riots, bestowed on prince *Suvorov*, formerly governor-

general of the Baltic provinces; for Ignatyev had rendered himself unsuitable, and the prince was regarded as a reliable friend of the Emperor, and at the same time was a favorite with the public, on account of his humanity and strict integrity.

We must now turn our attention for a moment to the changes which, since 1st January 1862, had been accomplished in the press, which was now at the height of its influence. It was important, above all, that the government had acknowledged the necessity of having an organ of its own; which should not only promulgate its measures, but should state their motives, and defend them publicly against different opinions. This organ was the 'Northern Post', which Valuyev had established. The very first number of this paper had excited the most general attention; for it contained the tidings of a whole series of impending and thorough reforms. Although the emancipation of the peasants was yet at its outset, and the future position of not more than 3 per cent of the emancipated peasants had been regulated, the main evils of the old system had straightway to be relinquished. Above all it was necessary to set aside the brandy-tenure, the chief source of that fearful corruption among the officers of the police and of justice, who, in the remote provinces, were entirely in the pay of the rich brandy-distillers, whose excesses they upheld. A second subject for reform, noticed in the Northern Post, was the remodelling of the civil position of the nobles; and the same paper which conveyed the tidings of this important innovation, contained also the communication, that in the same year would go forward the radical remodelling of magisterial affairs, of the civil and criminal administration of justice, of the police, of the domains, of educational matters, and of the position of the Jews.

Simultaneously with the 'Northern Post' a number of

other journals were established, most of which were on the side of radicalism. Besides the Sovremnik, which, as we know, was a mere offshoot of the Herzen ideas, numerous weekly and daily papers of a similar tendency appeared: 'the *Russian Word*' *(Russkoye Slovo)* established by the rich young count *Kushelev Besborodko*, who attracted authors of reputation by his immense fees, 'the Times' *(Vremyä)*, 'the *Age*' *(Vyaik)*, and others. But the other parties also were not silent. In Mosc'va, there appeared a weekly paper, 'the *Day*' *(Dyen)*, established by *Ivan Aksakov*, a journal written with much talent, and which advocated a return to the old Russian system, the perpetuation of the equal right of all peasants to the soil, the abolition of the nobility, the reform of the clergy, the increased influence of the Greek church, and complete freedom of the press; its editor was greeted by Alexander Herzen very cordially as '*Nos amis, les ennemis*'. Herzen knew very well, that the philo-Slavs, in spite of their enthusiasm for the Greek church, and in spite of their principles of hostility against west-European liberalism, waged war against the existing authorities, and would thus far support his own efforts. In Mosc'va there also appeared the '*Russ* Messenger *(Vyaistnic)*', a paper conducted by *Katkov*, and which was at that time a zealous champion of constitutional ideas, and of an aristocratic government after the English model. Almost all these papers joined the current of the revolutionary movement, and opposed the government with more or less decision. Only one paper, likewise appearing in Mosc'va, and entitled '*Our own Time*' *(Nash Vremya)*, had the courage to advocate conservative, if not illiberal ideas, and to demand moderation, respect for existing authorities, and the maintenance of a centralised administration in the spirit of enlightened absolutism.

At the end of January the nobles convened meetings in 14 different districts, in order to discuss various changes, which the abolition of serfdom had rendered requisite. Every one looked at these meetings with anxiety and interest; for they hoped that they would take the initiative in numerous reforms, and perhaps bring about a liberal constitution. The meetings of the nobles had been completely insignificant, until the discussions respecting the law of emancipation; and therefore usually only 'the *Wahlen*' (elections) had been mentioned. Now, when their discussions were held publicly, and were shared by a numerous public assembled in the galleries; they assumed the appearance of parliament, and the press did its utmost to make them the object of general attention: thus, for example, the subjects of deliberation were always published some days before in the papers, and detailed notices appeared of the speeches made. Even the official press could not wholly resist the animated spirit that had seized the whole nation. 'The *Wahlen*' (wrote the Invalide, the organ of the new minister of war), 'were this time of special importance; they bore formerly an exclusively crown character, they have now returned to their political importance.' The most eager attempts, to gain this political position were made in the two capitals of St. Petersburg and Mosc'va. The wishes of the press for the complete abolition of the nobility, here indeed found no hearing; on the contrary, in both places lively wishes were expressed in favor of a constitution. In Petersburg two parties stood opposed to each other. *Nicolas Besobrasov*, who was the spokesman of the discontented nobles, demanded compensation for the sacrifice, arising from the peasant-affair, in the extension of the political rights of his class; while marshal *Platonov* spoke in the spirit of advanced liberalism, and could only with

difficulty be induced to adjourn his determination, to petition in behalf of his proposal for the representation of the states; on the other hand, it could not be prevented that the Petersburg nobles in an address, presented to the Emperor, demanded that publicity should be given to judicial proceedings. Still greater was the agitation manifested among the Mosc'va nobles, where liberals and aristocrats agreed in their desire for the convening of a constitutional assembly, and really disputed only respecting its form and modality. A proposal of prince *Shtcherbatov*, to request the government immediately to convene a general commission of all classes, to examine into the desires and necessities of the country, was passed by a large majority; but the negociations after this had become so passionate, that the marshal, on the 23rd January, declared them closed. The address of the Moscava nobles alluded with tolerable distinctness to the necessity of convoking a general diet; and petitioned, at the same time, for the introduction of oaths into courts of law. Still more radical were the proceedings in some districts. The nobles of Smolensk, on the proposal of prince *Gurko*, decreed the abolition of all the rights of the nobility, and the demand for a mixed constitution; and nothing but the dissolution of the assembly, and the confiscation of all acts passed by it, could have prevented the public notification of these desires. The nobles of Tula likewise transgressed the limits of their authority, and petitioned for the separation of the judicial office from the administrative: in Tver, 126 votes against 27 endeavored to obtain a constitutional form of government, and 113 votes against 22 were given in favor of a declaration which required the immediate and obligatory sale of all the peasant-lands to the communities: at the same time 13 justices of the peace declared that they adhered in future no longer to the decisions of the eman-

cipation-ukàz, and would act according to their own opinion. While the government answered the Mosc'va address with a reprimand, and simply left the Tula proposals unnoticed, and refused the deputies of Smolensk permission to travel to Petersburg to present their address; it felt obliged in Tver to interfere more energetically: some years before, desires for a constitutional government had been expressed there, and it seemed requisite to set a limit to similar excesses for the future. The decrees of the assembly were declared invalid, the 13 rebellious justices of the peace were arrested and thrown into prison. But even here it was felt advisable not to have recourse to extreme measures; 14 days after the 13 justices of the peace had entered on the imprisonment to which they were doomed, they were pardoned by an imperial ukàz.

The desires of the Russ nobles to bring about any kind of constitution, originated on the one hand in the necessity of setting a limit to the power of the government, which had become boundless thro' the abolition of serfdom; and on the other hand they had arisen from the excitement which had taken possession of all classes of society. and which was fostered by the Kolokol and its followers. Since the year 1862, two other Russian journals had appeared, which had been secretly imported. One of these appeared in Brussels, and was edited by the somewhat notorious prince *Peter Dolgoruki;* the other came out in Berlin, under the direction of the student *Leonid v. Blümner;* both these papers were unwearied in their demands for a constitution on a west-European model. The wishes, in this respect, of the Russ nobles, however, had yet another origin. Apart from the fact that the desires of the Poles had been regarded, and the autonomy of the kingdom had been guaranteed (in spite of the disorders still continuing in *Varsháva*), and had been carried into execution by the marquis *Vyelopolski*, the

government had evidenced also in other ways its inclination to concessions in constitutional matters. Even in the spring of 1861, the Emperor had promised thro' his Finland secretary of state, Count *Armfeld*, that he would restore the constitutional government of the Grand-Duchy of Finland, which had been for 50 years suspended. Finland had been promised, on its submission to the Russian crown, the maintenance of its constitution, which consisted, after the Swedish model, of four estates. Nevertheless, neither under Alexander I. nor under Nicolas, had the Finland parliament ever been summoned; indeed the Finland estates had not even ventured officially to demand it. Every one assumed that the constitutional rights of Finland had been forfeited, and that the Finlanders had reason to be satisfied, if their other hereditary institutions remained untouched. And even hope on the matter had at times become considerably weakened. In Finland, as is well known, two races live side by side; the nobles, clergy, and higher class of citizens are of Swedish descent, and have given the country a substantially Swedish character. The peasant class, and the poorer population of the towns, consist of Finlanders, who speak their own language; and altho' politically entitled to equal rights with the Swedes, they play a secondary part. Not without the co-operation of the government, and under the secret countenance of Russ officials and clergy, at the time of the subjection of the country under the sceptre of Alexander I., a specifically Finnish party had arisen, desiring to effect the supremacy of the Finnish language and literature, and to weaken the influence of the Swedish element. A few at least of the members of this party had not unwillingly witnessed the inhibition of the old aristocratic constitution, and had allowed it to be understood, with tolerable distinctness, that they were not disinclined to make common cause

with the Russians against the Swedes. The Swedes, however, had been wise enough to perceive in time the danger that threatened them; they allowed the constitution to rest during the entire rule of the Emperor Nicolas, and endeavored to disarm the Finnish movement by acts of complaisance, in which they had succeeded to a certain extent, after acknowledging the equal rights of the two languages. When in this manner internal danger seemed set aside, the aristocracy began to induce the Emperor, thro' Armfeld the secretary of state, to recognise the old constitution, and to promise the speedy convoking of the parliament. As the Emperor believed the time for this had not yet arrived, and the Finlanders themselves acknowledged that, after the 50 years' stagnation of their parliamentary life, a series of preliminary steps would be required, in order to direct the proceedings of the parliament in the right channel; they had agreed, in the first place, to convene a board of delegates, to examine and investigate the numerous matters to be laid before it. Each of the four estates chose 12 deputies, and these met at Helsingfors on the 24th January 1862. This board, which was regarded as a preparatory commission for the parliament, had such an amount of work to accomplish, that it was occupied for months. As, in consequence of the suspension of the constitution, the whole legislative work had lain dormant for more than half a century; it was necessary to put into order a confused mass of old institutions, long ago become obsolete. It was decreed to reform penal law and criminal proceedings, to remodel commercial affairs and the laws respecting trade, to abolish the privileges still yielded to the nobles, especially their right to possessing landed property; and lastly, to introduce the Finnish language into the schools and administrative departments, and thus to avert, at the outset, all

possibility of internal discord. The protocols of the board of delegates were conveyed to the Emperor in March, and were accompanied with a document, in which especial stress was laid on the fact that the board had only prepared preliminary measures, and that the decision on them was reserved for the parliament. So distinctly had the Finlanders shewn the constitutional character of their political life, that the Northern Post thought it fitting to draw attention to it in a lengthy article, pointing out, that the Grand-Duchy of Finland possessed at any rate a constitution of *national Estates*, and that they must be careful of confounding this with a *constitution* in the west-European sense of the word.

The Russ public regarded the matter differently: they were convinced that the Finlanders (to whom they were however not favourably disposed) possessed a true constitution, and that it was for Russia to acquire such a one likewise. Herein Russ national feeling was in no slight degree prompted by the reflection that in truth even the Poles were better off than the nation which really took the lead in the Empire. Twelve months before, an imperial ukaz had ordered the institution of district and provincial assemblies in the kingdom of Poland; the surest guarantees had been given for the autonomy of this country by the abolition of the Polish Imperial council, and the establishment of a Varsháva government commission; and that the disorders in Poland continued nevertheless, that the inhabitants of the country made no use of their new rights, but enacted demonstration after demonstration in Varsháva, was regarded as a token that the Polish constitution, abolished in the year 1831, had every prospect of being restored. Governor after governor had been appointed in the Polish capital, none of whom had been able to restore tranquillity; and yet no complete authority had been bestowed for serious interference. Under the eyes of the government the revolutionary propa-

ganda made daily progress, various assemblies of Lithuanian nobles had already made proposals of union with the kingdom; and still the régime continued unchanged, and the national system of government, adopted by the Marquis Vyelopolski, was adhered to. Every thing seemed to indicate more enlarged plans on the part of the government, and the possibility of a restoration of the Polish constitution. Were the Russians to remain quiet, were they to look on, as the frontier provinces, with their population of strangers were awarded rights for which the great orthodox nation, the Slavonic 'people of 60 millions', the vehicle of a new future system of the world, were considered unfit? The government, which had shewn itself so patient and yielding with regard to the Poles, which had almost met the wishes of the Finlanders, was not to be expected to offer resistance to the popular desires of Russians, when they had once been expressed with energy. The political agitators of the Petersburg clubs, the followers of Herzen's doctrines, the disciples of the Sovremnik and of the other inflammable writings were of opinion that it was simply necessary to make further demonstration, and to intimidate the government. There was, of course, no idea of consistently formed plans; many of the most vehement declaimers scarcely knew what was meant by a constitution: others regarded, as the most important concession that could be made, not this, but a general distribution of the land; others again indulged in desires for freedom and equality, for the emancipation of women, and so forth: the one common aim of all who considered themselves politicians, because they knew half a dozen socialist phrases, was the desire to overthrow the old authorities. From this chaos, it was believed, a new and liberal state-administration would arise of itself.

Altho' the exciting public lectures, which had formed

the pretext for closing the university, had for some time been forbidden, and the censors of the Petersburg journals had received repeated instructions to be more exact in their office; from the commencement of the summer the excitement had increased day by day, without any check being put to the evil. No one knew how it happened, but the forbidden journals of Herzen and Dolgoruki were in every one's hand; while at the same time those revolutionary pamphlets, of which no one knew printer, publisher, or editor, appeared more and more constantly, demanding with increasing boldness the overthrow of the throne and the abolition of all state institutions, and inciting the people to put their hand to the work and gain their rights. These secret papers formed by degrees an entire literature, and it was not a rare occurrence to see them publicly fastened up at the corners of the streets. No less dangerous was the influence of the Sunday-schools, which had spread their net over the whole capital, and which numbered thousands of pupils, even in the regiments of the Imperial guard; altho' all the world knew, that they were the nurseries of revolutionary teaching, and were conducted, at least in a great measure, by notorious political agitators. There was no class, no vocation, which could with certainty be reckoned on the side of the government. Two counts Rostovzov, the sons of the deceased adjutant-general (a man who had enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor, and had been president of the emancipation committee), were convicted of having corresponded for the Kolokol; and with more than one official in high office papers were found, which argued intercourse with the dreaded London agitator.

A considerable number of the young officers openly acknowledged the new doctrines; numerous well-known scholars and professors were already endangered by their

participation in the student-riots; others delivered furious political orations at the chess-club, others again employed their influence and their knowledge in initiating the soldiers, or the lower classes, into the mysteries of socialism; and scarcely a day passed, in which there were not excesses in the streets, and tumultuous scenes in the schools or numerous reading-rooms. The boldness of the propagandists had even ventured within the sanctuary of the Imperial family. On the Easter-Eve, when the Emperor and his family were assembled in prayer with the highest dignitaries, revolutionary letters were dispersed throughout the palace-chapel, and this so openly, that a copy fell into the hands of the Emperor himself. It seemed, indeed, as tho' they were standing on the eve of a revolution.

And a revolution was actually attempted; but indeed in so horrible and barbarous a manner, that all, in whom the excitement had left a vestige of reason, could not help seeing the precipice to the brink of which they had staggered. On the 22nd May, a fire broke out in a part of the wooden market-hall. Before this was extinguished, other fires were announced, and these followed in such quick succession, that there could be no doubt as to the concerted plan of a band of incendiaries. Between the 22nd and 28th May, the so-called *Tchukin Dvor* (a part of the great market-hall) was almost completely burnt down, in spite of repeated energetic attempts at extinction; also the palace of the minister of the interior, and numerous other private and public buildings in entirely different quarters of the city. These occurrences have never been fully cleared up; of old, incendiarism has ever been the favorite expression of national discontent; and in the instance before us, undoubtedly, revolutionary instigators were engaged; for the fire broke out while the greatest portion of the population were

assembled, festively attired, for their usual Whitsuntide promenade, in the large summer-garden on the banks of the Neva. During the tumult of the conflagration, various insurrectionists, and newsmen with revolutionary papers were taken in the very act. It was of especial importance that the publishing-house of the secret radical journal '*Velico-russ*' was discovered by chance in the neighborhood of the Imperial guard. A student was seized, as he was delivering up the manuscript of some absent writer, with the articles to be printed on the following day. At the same time, the leader of the Sovremnik, Tchernytchevski, the writer *Serno-Solovyevitch*, and many young officers and students, were arrested as insurrectionists; whether there was any connexion between them and the incendiaries, remained doubtful, and was obstinately denied by these men's friends, who had meanwhile returned to their senses.

The government now exerted all its energies, and all the means at its disposal, to avert future disturbances. The Northern Post published an Imperial order, which accorded full power to the governor-general to proceed with the incendiaries according to martial law, and to have them immediately hanged. The chess-club and various other notorious reading rooms were closed by the police, all Sunday-schools were for a time forbidden, admission of soldiers into these schools was once for all prohibited, all heads of offices and military commanders were enjoined strict oversight over their subordinates; and it was publicly announced, that the government would visit every attempt at revolt with unsparing severity, but that the course of reform would proceed as before. Some weeks later, a law appeared, which subjected to strict control all trade connected with printing or lithographs, rendered the power of the censor more severe, and suspended for 8 months three of the boldest opposition

papers (among them of course the Sovremnik), and ordered Herr Aksakov to resign the responsible direction of his paper (the *Dyèn)* into other hands. In spite of these strict laws, the universal excitement lasted for weeks. We shall subsequently return to the circumstances which at any rate set bounds to it for a time.

The Tzar left his excited capital at the beginning of the summer, first to visit the Baltic Provinces, the only civilised part of his extensive Empire which during the last stormy year had remained quiet, and on which therefore he wished to bestow his attention. The Livonian journey was next followed by a trip to Mosc'va, where the governor-general *Tutchkov* had taken care to prepare for him a most loyal reception, by impressing on the people that the Germans, who had shewn themselves so loyal, must not be allowed to have the advantage in the Imperial favor.

Meanwhile in Petersburg, the Imperial council had been uninterruptedly occupied in examining the projects, prepared by the ministers, for the remodelling of the judicial and provincial affairs of the administration. Besides this, they were employed in a new municipal constitution for the city of Mosc'va, in the extension of the *Richelieu* institution in the Odessa university, and in drawing up a law respecting the working of the salt-mines. Less successful than these works of reform, into which we shall enter in the course of our work, were the attempts of the new minister of finance *v. Reutern*, to introduce order and system into the chaos of Russian finance and public credit. Herr v. Reutern, who had obtained his office thro' the friendship of the Grand-Duke Constantine, endeavored to gain the approval of the popular opinion, and of the public at large, by effecting the publication of the annual budget, which had hitherto been always kept secret. His other measures seemed at first to

have been not without success; and it was only the crisis of the autumn of 1863 that proved the futility of the measures which the minister had brought before the public on the 14th April 1862. The Crimean war had, as is well known, deluged Russia with a quantity of useless paper-money; hard cash had so completely disappeared, that there was a total lack of even small coins (silver pieces of 50, 25, 15, 10, and 5 copeycas); and private individuals were obliged to have recourse, for years, to bills of exchange for these small amounts. From the year 1857, there had been no longer any idea of changing bills of credit into hard cash; as the Imperial bank simply refused to do so from want of means, altho' on every bill of credit there stood a paragraph from an Imperial law, designating this exchange as feasible at every bank. Only with difficulty, and with immense sacrifice, had the unfavorable rate of exchange with other countries been kept at a tolerable height; the Imperial bank could only maintain the nominal value of the Russian paper-money by passing bills of exchange on which it had to pay in every single case. The payments of interest to foreign state-creditors were also obliged to be covered by buying-up bills at St. Petersburg at unheard-of prices. This system, which was devised by the former minister *Knyäshevitch*, could, it was evident, only end in complete bankruptcy; as the prices were for ever rising, and the rate of exchange, in spite of every expedient, sank year by year. Herr v. Reutern endeavored to help matters by another remedy, which was likewise extremely unpractical. He effected a new (the seventh) 5 per cent loan; and he applied the 50 Million pounds sterling arising from this as the basis of an exchange-capital in the imperial bank. A table was published, which established beforehand at what prices the *paper*-rubles were to be changed

for *silver* rubles, according to a rising scale. From the 1st May, for 4 months, the silver ruble was to be paid with $110^{1}/_{2}$ kopekas (or copeycas) in paper-money, this amount was to diminish to $108^{1}/_{2}$ copeycas from the 1st August, and so by degrees parity between paper and silver was to be brought about. The first results of this measure, which the Exchange (Bourse) could turn to very good account, as the rates of exchange had been published for a year beforehand, deceived both the public and the government for many months. When the minister of finance could state, on the 1st November 1862, that the expenditure for the improvement of the rate, and for the regulation of the circulation of money, had diminished by almost 14 million rubles, compared with the previous year, there was no end to the rejoicing; and, full of delight, the Northern Post stated that the Paris price of exchange for the silver ruble had risen within 6 months full 10 centimes (to $371^{59}/_{64}$ instead of $361^{7}/_{8}$), and was constantly rising. No one perceived that, after the payment of those 15 millions pounds sterling, the joy must have an end, and that all of means for the maintenance of this artificially prolonged rate of exchange would fail. This conjuncture occurred, as we remarked at the outset, in the course of a year, in consequence of the immense resources which the Polish insurrection, and the equipments connected with it, had devoured; and led to a panic, worse than any that we can conceive. At the very moment when, according to the published plan, every one was reckoning on the parity of paper and silver, the exchange capital was exhausted, and the rate of exchange was given over to its own impotency. That the unexpected expenditure for the Polish insurrection was then called for, and the governor of the bank, Baron *Stieglitz*, was dismissed in disgrace, because he had taken no mea-

sures to meet the sudden crisis, could not prevent the Russian state-credit both at home and abroad becoming null. The *Revue des deux mondes* has detailed at some length, in an article by *Volovski*, the history of this catastrophe.

More important, and more rich in consequences than all that happened, and that could happen on the part of the government in the summer of 1862, was the revolution accomplished, at this same time, in a great part of the influential circles of the political Russ public. What no one, not even the government, had ventured on, was undertaken by a private man: namely, an attack on the authority and influence which Alexander Herzen and those Russ emigrants who had gathered round this powerful political writer, had hitherto assumed. We have repeatedly intimated that the magic effect, which the name of Alexander Herzen exercised in Russia, since the termination of the Crimean war, rested essentially on the fact that the existence of this man was officially ignored, and that no one dared to venture, or had ventured, publicly to mention the author, whose books and journals had constituted the main substance of all intellectual food in Russia for the last five years. The silence of years which the government had observed, to its own detriment, with regard to the London agitator, can only be explained by the contradictory and wavering character which had marked the new Russian era from the first. So deeply rooted were the traditions of the old military absolutism, that the fiction was maintained, that nothing was changed of the system of the Emperor Nicolas; even when actually every thing was different, and scarcely a vestige of the old regime remained. The man who first had the courage and the judgment to request permission from the government to make an open and direct attack on Herzen, ranks now as one of the most influential public

characters in Russia: in the summer of 1862 he was a journalist, whose name, it is true, was known pretty generally, but with whom the public were better acquainted from the caricatures in the Petersburg humorous papers, than from his solid and carefully written articles. *Michaïl Nikoforovitch Katkov*, formerly a professor of philosophy at the Moscava university, had been for some years occupied with the editorship of his monthly journal, *Russki Vyästnic* (the Russ Messenger), and had been well known for his zeal for English institutions, and for a constitutional government; the humorous journal *Iskra* (Spark) always represented him therefore as wearing a Scottish cap. In July 1862, the name of this man was suddenly on the lips of all. In various journal-articles, lively, but written with decided skill, he had declared war against the hitherto all-powerful Dioscuri, *Herzen* and *Ogarev;* he had imputed to them participation in the disorders that had occurred in St. Petersburg; and had pointed out the influence of these emigrants as the main source of the radical errors which threatened the repose of the country, and disturbed the government in the progress of reform. At first the *Russki Vyästnic* was purchased only, because the people wished to read Herzen's name in a journal published with permission of the censor; and then, because the personage attacked had sent the editor a reply which he immediately published, The ice therefore was broken; the magic power of the name of Herzen was deprived of its best support; and it was not long before the public began to enter into the matter itself, to take part with the one side or the other, and to let drop one portion after another, of the infallibility of the programme promulgated in the Kolokol.

A great part of the press naturally followedthe example given by the *Vyästnic;* and soon the war of the politicals

was kindled along a tolerably extensive line of battle. Katkov had throughout not denied that Herzen had by his earlier writings given the Russian mind a welcome impetus to the new movement; but he unsparingly attacked the special programme of the Kolokol, and pointed out the impracticability of those socialist Utopian views which hitherto it had been the fashion to advocate. Starting with just and well digested principles of national economy, Katkov declared himself against that institution of undivided communism in the worship of which the disciples of Herzen and the philo-Slavs were united, and which was in their eyes a kind of national sanctuary. We shall hereafter have occasion to become acquainted with the radical change of Katkov's programme, which was realised nine months later, at the time of the Polish insurrection, and which made the advocate of self-government and an enlightened liberalism the leader of the fanatical national party, and of the democracy allied with it: at *that* time there was no trace of all this; and when the editor of the Vyästnic, soon after his campaign against Herzen, undertook the Moscava journal, every one supposed that this writer would place himself at the head of the liberal party of the nobles, and would advocate de-centralisation and forbearance to national peculiarities. It remains to be observed that some radical journals completely ignored the controversy against Herzen, others even ventured slightly to blame the regardless manner, in which their leader had been treated. Tolerably severe censure on the coarseness of Katkov's invectives, was passed by the Northern Bee, under the old system the most important non-official journal of Russia, but which since then had long ago lost its influence, and a few years since ceased to exist altogether.

This episode in the journalistic history of Russia was in no wise attended with any sudden success. When the

first articles of the Vyästnic appeared, all eyes were directed to the impending celebration of the thousand years' jubilee of the empire, which was to be held at Novgorod, the old capital of Ruric. Amid all the violent excitement of men's minds, it was impossible but that wishes and hopes of the most extravagant kind should be linked with this jubilee-celebration: there were people who believed, with all seriousness, that the Emperor would on this day publish a new constitution, and transform Russia into a constitutional state; others spoke of the proclamation of the freedom of the press, and of the equal rights of all confessions (and especially of the orthodox *old-faith* sects) with the ruling church; others again talked idly of the fulfilment of their wishes for a general division of the soil among the freed peasants. It appeared, for a while, as though the Herzen and Katkov controversy had been forgotten in the thoughts of the millennium, and subsequently in the new bills which were published at the end of September. It was only when, a few months later, the Polish insurrection broke out, and, with it, the important crisis arrived which resulted in a complete change of the system, that it was made manifest that the editor of the Russki Vyästnic had not labored in vain, but had prepared the way for a revolution in public opinion, more complete than could have been imagined, or than Katkov himself had in the least anticipated.

IV.

It was almost universally expected in Russia that the thousand years' jubilee, celebrated at Novgorod on the 7th. September, would be marked by some great legislative act. Some expected freedom of religious confession; others the declaration of the freedom of the press; others even the decree of a constitutional government based on the broadest democratic principles. Various foreign journals contained communications respecting the purport of this sketch of the constitution; the most widely circulated was that from Warsaw, according to which the empire was to be divided into a number of sections, having common parliaments, in order in this manner to avoid the evil of an imperial assembly with many heads. The government disappointed all these hopes. The emperor and his family, after having spent the summer partly in Livonia, and partly in the neighbourhood of Novgorod, were present at the opening of the Novgorod monument, and received the homage rendered them by noble and peasant; but the whole festival assumed the usual official form: immense bodies of troops belonging to the guards and to the line had been assembled for a military spectacle. The metropolitan bishop waved his censer, and pronounced his blessing; and a public dinner, and a ball given by the nobles, concluded the day. Two days before,

an ukàz had appeared, which decreed a conscription after six years; and nothing was heard of the longed-for manifestos and proclamations. They had, it seemed, intentionally avoided kindling the excited popular feeling, and using the celebration of the Millenium in a pan-Slavonian spirit.

But before the turbulent democracy had had time to express their indignation at this disappointment of their hopes, they received a fresh surprise. Three weeks after the Novgorod festivities, the Northern Post, the official organ of the ministers of the interior, contained the sketch of two reforms of the widest extent: the 'Fundamental Law' for the remodelling of the administration of justice, and the outlines of a new arrangement of provinces and districts based on the principle of self-government. Altho' the latter demonstrated that the government was utterly removed from all idea of adopting the representative system, and desired to limit the participation of the people in the administration to subordinate offices and material interests; still the effect of the publication was extraordinary. The programme for the remodelling of the administration of justice particularly excited the most universal enthusiasm, especially as it was known at the same time, that the hitherto high-tory and therefore unpopular minister of justice, Count Victor *Panin**, had sent in his resignation, and had been succeeded by his colleague, the secretary of state, Samyätin.

The entire remodelling of the administration of justice had been for a long time an urgent and universally felt necessity. Not only had the corruption of the highest Russian magistrates been long proverbial, both at home and abroad; but the organisation of the courts of justice had

* Since the death of the Imperial Chancellor, Count *Nesselrode*, (March 1862), Panin was the only minister who had been appointed in the time of the Emperor Nicolas.

been so bad, that the exercise of the administration of justice had been almost impossible. The absolute secrecy of civil and criminal proceedings, the written form of all transactions, the length of the terms, the infinite number of courts of appeal &c., had stifled at its birth the confidence of the people in the courts of justice. It was known that proceedings which had been referred to the third court of appeal, had lain by for years, and were finally decided according to the casual opinion of the secretary and upper secretary, generally in favor of those parties who had paid these officials the highest sum. The senators themselves, for the most part old generals, had neither had any previous legal education, nor did they give themselves the trouble to study the documents laid before them. Added to this, appeal could be made from the decision of the separate senatorial departments or committees to the full assembly of the senate; and from even this, recourse to the emperor was further possible; in a word, matters could be endlessly protracted, so long as either party had at his disposal considerable resources, or influential connexions. Moreover, the administration of justice was in the most disgraceful manner dependent on the government; not only ministers and governor-generals, but generals and dignitaries of every kind could take part at will in the course of justice, in order either to check it, or to limit its course. Every adjutant-general, for instance, possessed the right to suspend the execution of important verdicts in state matters, if he chose to undertake the responsibility of doing so; all verdicts were obliged to be submitted to the procurators and civil-governors; the officers of the secret police might interfere in the affairs of justice, and all senators had the right of revising the proceedings of the lower magistrates. In addition to these evils, there were yet others. The officers of justice were so badly paid that they were tempted to dishonesty; most

of the members of the provincial courts of justice consisted of ignorant persons, not appointed by the state, but by the people; lastly, the courts of justice, the police, and the executive administration were not separated from each other, but most of the tribunals were at the same time administrative courts, and, as such, were dependent on the will of the executive. Lastly, the law-books, according to which law was administered, and which prescribed the forms of proceeding, were so unwieldy, so obsolete, and unpractical, that they left the greatest scope to the discretion of the judge. All these evils were now suddenly and at once to be remedied. The 'Fundamental Law', published on the 29th. September (O. S.) 1862, for the remodelling of the administration of justice, promised the *independence of the courts of justice from the executive, the public and oral character of the transactions, limitation of the courts of appeal, the introduction of a jury in criminal matters, the abolition of privileged jurisdictions, and the appointment of all judges by the state.*

As these new regulations of justice have been already introduced into a great part of the Russian empire, and are yearly extending,* it will be necessary to enter into them more closely, and to become more nearly acquainted with their organisation. We may here at once mention that these new regulations have proved to be excellent; that they have gained the confidence of the people, and have raised their sense of right. We cannot at present indeed speak of a

* The new tribunals of justice were at first only introduced into the two capitals, Moscow and Petersburg, and their neighbourhood. Other provinces were added later: in the present year, the new institutions, *e. g.*, in S. Russia (Odessa and others), are to be added. The introduction of the system into the former Polish countries has not yet been possible, owing to the still prevailing state of war there. The Russian institutions are not designed for the kingdom of Poland, Finland, and the Baltic provinces.

blameless administration of justice, purified by the study of jurisprudence; for as most of the judges are without legal knowledge, they cannot fail often to pass wrong judgment, frequently to infringe well known points of law, and to give more scope to moderation and human feelings, than is justifiable in strictly legal measures.* But these judges are for the most part honorable men, who act according to their conscience and to the best of their knowledge; who *publicly* administer justice, and will know nothing of bribery and unlawful usages. The same may be said of the jury, who have committed frequent follies and have passed many erroneous verdicts, such as would have been impossible in other states; nevertheless they exhibit progress. Of all the reforms undertaken under the present government, the remodelling of the administration of justice is decidedly the most successful. The expectations which it excited have been partly surpassed; and the prophecies of the pessimists have not been realised. In spite of the rejoicing with which the liberal press greeted the announcement of the new organisation, warning voices were not wanting. The organ of the philo-Slavonic party, the *Dyèn*, acknowledged in several excellently-written articles the 'good intention' of the government, but reproached it with again entering on the dangerous venture 'of importing west European wares.' It asserted that the whole project was devoid of all national peculiarity, and bore on its face the character of its origin, which was mere 'expediency'! The article then proceeded to shew, that neither the principle of the abolition of all privileged courts of justice, nor the separation of the administration of justice from the government, was to be strictly adhered to; with cutting satire the impossibility was pointed out of making

* In general, in the new tribunals of justice, the tendency prevails to favor the hitherto oppressed lower classes at the expense of the higher.

jurors of Russian noblemen, merchants, or peasants; and it was represented in strong language, that neither the indolent peasant, nor the *blasé* nobleman would ever have the courage to express the verdict 'guilty', unless under the influence of passion. The Sovremennic also spoke in the most malicious manner of the project, which harmonised but little with the radical demands of this journal. These prognostics, however, were only in a measure fulfilled.

The outlines of the new measure, published on the 29th. September 1862 (and to these outlines the completed and detailed plan has adhered), were ample enough to render a distinct conception of the scheme possible. They were divided into two parts.

Part I. treated of the constitution of the courts of justice, and laid down the following principles: separation of judicial power from that of the administration, the executive power from that of legislation; the introduction of juries for hearing and trying crimes, in so far as these were not of a political nature; publicity of justice; the assignment of judicial power to the justice of the peace; meetings of justices of the peace; circuit courts, judicatory tribunals, and the cassation or appeal department of the senate. Besides these, the following guiding principles were recognised: the necessity of legal education in all judicial officers; the absence of all power to dismiss or remove a judge; the abolition of all privileged courts of justice, and of the contradictory proceeding in criminal cases. The solicitor-general and advocates were newly appointed, as hitherto they had on no occasion been men of trust.

Part II. treated of criminal law: penal law was not directly touched on, and was only modified by the abolition of corporal punishment, decreed on the 17th. April 1863.

Part III. treated of civil law.

The senate, hitherto the highest court of appeal, were to exercise the function of cassation in civil and criminal cases. The justices of the peace could decide in their assemblies without appeal in *subordinate* civil and criminal cases; the legal remedy of cassation was never admissible against their decision. The justices of the peace occupied altogether an exceptional position: they decided not only in civil and criminal matters, but they exercised also certain authority in points of justice not to be contested; for example, they adopted preliminary measures in matters of inheritance and guardianship, and undertook the duties of the notary, where no notary was present; they were besides the only officers of justice who were not appointed by the state, but were elected within a certain district by the inhabitants of every class; and they were obliged to possess a definite amount of landed property. They were the only judges who were not appointed for life, and who were not required to show any training in the law. Their jurisdiction was extraordinarily vast. In penal matters, they could not only inflict punishment, up to fines of 300 rubles and three months imprisonment; but in crimes, which according to the statute book were punishable with the loss of civil rights, such as theft and fraud, they could award the penalty to all persons who did not belong to the nobility, either personally or hereditarily. The justices of the peace could, moreover, without appeal, inflict fines amounting to 15 rubles, and arrest for three days; but in awarding the punishment of hard labor, they might not inflict the loss of civil rights. In civil matters they decided in cases of personal agreements, as well as in matters of indemnification to the amount of 500 rubles, and in all cases of injury and seizen, to the amount of 30 rubles; the assembly of the justices of the peace was the only court of appeal in civil and criminal matters.

There is no trace of a sworn recorder, either among the justices of the peace or in the assemblies; indeed this important official personage, guaranteeing the security of judicial proceedings, and controlling the acts of the judge, seems to have been thoroughly excluded; as the justice of the peace himself recorded his verdicts (in criminal cases) in a book destined for the purpose. The circuit courts took the place of all former courts of appeal for all classes in civil and criminal matters; the supreme courts of justice took the place of the civil and criminal courts, which latter, as a rule, had only to officiate as courts of appeal and revision, and, in no case, neither in civil nor in criminal matters, had any jurisdiction as a court of the first *instance*. The jurisdiction of the circuit-courts began where that of the justices of the peace ended. The course of justice was limited to two hearings; the senate was only the court of cassation.

While, hitherto, a procurator had been appointed for every district, with the aid of his colleagues to watch over the administration of justice, the new law appointed solicitors-general with their colleagues in every higher and circuit court. Their duty was essentially different from that of the former procurators and fiscals, and was limited on the one side to the respective judicial magistrates, and on the other it extended, within this limit, to the inspection of criminal proceedings and the administration of civil law. It is especially to be observed, that they avoided to assign the solicitor-general as privileged a position with regard to the prosecution of crime as is the case, for example, in Prussia.

The appointment of inquisitors (or examiners), who had to prepare the suits in criminal cases for further discussion before the tribunals, was just as necessary in the new order

of criminal proceedings, as that of barristers or advocates, hitherto completely unknown in Russia, had become necessary from the remodelling of the civil suit. In criminal suits, with their contradictory proceedings, the advocates gained great importance as the regular defenders of the accused. The establishment of an honorary council selected from the midst of the advocates, to whom certain authority was assigned, was intended to act beneficially on the mind of the new advocates and to guarantee their honorable procedure. Until the year 1862, every 'free' man was competent to act as an attorney before a tribunal. It appeared, moreover, very expedient that a preparatory school for the officers of justice should be created for the 'candidates' who, after a course of legal study, were sent to the magistrates and to the solicitors-general for practical employment.

The institution of the notary was introduced for certain acts of voluntary jurisdiction. The establishment of executors of justice arose from the principle of the separation of justice from the executive. The courts of justice were, henceforth, to execute their verdicts themselves, on account of which these officers were appointed as executors; while in criminal cases they were employed in searching houses, arrests, and confiscations.

The second part of the law of reorganisation treated of criminal prosecution; the principles laid down in the first part were here put into practice. No one could be punished without the decision of the competent tribunal; accuser and judge were separated from each other; the solicitor-general was the public accuser; the police had only to ascertain the actual facts of a case; further investigation was carried on by the inquisitor, whose actions were superintended by the solicitor-general; every accused person must be tried four-and-twenty hours after his arrest; the arrest was only to

occur in the cases decided by the law, and notice of every arrest was at once to be given to the inquisitor and solicitor-general; the oath of witnesses and professional men might not be taken before the inquisitor; the solicitor-general could demand the dismissal of those arrested, and, on the other hand, could propose the arrest of those suspected: the investigation could be carried on by the circuit-court on the accusation of private persons, or at the request of the judge, or by order of the solicitor-general; the solicitor-general could move for an investigation, and assign it either to the circuit court, or the court of judicature: crimes which were connected with the loss of civil rights, were sentenced with the aid of a jury; but smaller crimes were sentenced without a jury by the circuit courts; all transactions were public and oral.

The judges as well as the jury decided according to moral conviction; condemnation or acquittal could alone be pronounced by the court, and not the so called „absolutio ab instantia"; and the court of justice could according to circumstances, moderate the punishment by two degrees, and, in special cases, could recommend the criminal to the mercy of the emperor. The sessions of the jury took place four times a year, and, if required, still more frequently; the panels of the grand jury were examined and confirmed by the governor; the special panels holding authority for a fixed period were made by local committees; noblemen, citizens, merchants, artists, artisans, in fact, all city inhabitants, were eligible as jurors; and, among peasants, spiritual advisers, village judges, district judges, and all those who for a fixed time had served blamelessly as elders of the church or of the commune; the further qualifications of the jury were to be fixed by a special law; not less than 30 jurors could be present at a session. Of these jurors, the solicitor-general might refuse six; but the accused

could only refuse as many as would leave 18 at the least; of those that remained 12 jurors were drawn by lot for every case. If the court decided unanimously that an innocent man had been sentenced by the jury, other jurors had to pronounce a verdict, which, however, under any circumstances, was to be definitive. Appeal to the court of judicature was admissible with regard to sentence passed by the circuit courts without the aid of a jury. An appeal to the senate could only take place on account of infringement of forms, on account of false interpretation of the law, and of newly discovered circumstances, proving innocence; if the senate cancelled the verdict, they ordered the decision of the case by another court of justice, from which no appeal was admissible; the imperial confirmation was required for all verdicts, condemning nobles, officials, or ecclesiastics, to the loss of all or special civil rights; in crimes against the faith, if the accused were of the Greek orthodox confession, the jurors were to belong to this church; in state offences, the court of justice was to be that of first *instance*, and, instead of being assisted by a jury, it was to be aided by the marshal of the government, the marshal of the district, the head of the city, and the head of the peasant district; and was to pronounce judgment in common with these; the same procedure was to take place in press offences, in which the crime concerned the highest authority of the state and existing legal institutions; offences committed by public officers in their official capacity were punished by the administration. Judges could only be punished according to the procedure in the latter case; the offences of those holding office in the districts, communities, or police, were judged in the circuit-courts; the offences of all the other officers of the government, and magistrates and jurors, were judged in the supreme court of judicature; the crimes of those holding office in the four first ranks of the

administration, the members of the supreme courts, the solicitors-general and their colleagues, were referred to the senate; and, lastly, ministers and chiefs of the upper branches of the administration were judged for crimes committed in their official capacity by the highest criminal court of judicature; the costs in criminal cases were borne by the state and only partially exacted from the guilty.

The third part of the bill, which treated of civil proceedings, was divided into two sections: proceedings, first, before the justice of the peace in the circuit courts and high judicatory courts; and, secondly, in cases of administrative justice. With regard to the proceedings in the circuit-courts and in the high judicatory courts, there were, in the first place, regulations with regard to the district of jurisdiction, to proceedings before judgment, to legal expedients, to exceptions from the general order of the law, to arbitration, to the execution of verdicts, and to law expenses. Distinction was here made between those decisions which referred to actual legal proceedings, and those which concerned the general organisation of justice.

As regards the latter, the first point especially to be observed was, that, henceforth, there were to be only two courts of appeal in civil matters; that, from the judgment of the court of second *instance*, an appeal only to the cassation-department of the senate was admissible; when either an evident infringement of the clear spirit of the law, or of its essential forms of proceeding had taken place; or new circumstances or fabrication had been discovered; or if persons, without having taken part in the procedure, had been injured by a verdict; and that in all these cases the senate could cancel the verdict, and could refer the matter to another court of justice for final decision; that all fines for unwarranted appeal, and for the preferment of a demand already partly

paid, were to be abolished. The course of justice was throughout to be public.

The hitherto prevalent expedient of appeal to the senate, to the general assembly of the senate, and to the Imperial council, was abolished. On the other hand, however, besides the court of appeal, petitions for restitution against contumacious verdicts were allowed, which were brought in the form of a supplication before the court that had decreed the verdict, and were adjusted by it. Expostulations with regard to the unjust and partial actions of judges, solicitors-general, and other officers of justice, were allowed during the proceedings, or on the passing of the verdict; and, according to their nature, were brought before the courts of justice, or the cassation-department of the senate. Petitions for appeal or cassation must be brought forward within four months.

Special regulations were passed for matters which concerned the interest of the crown, the jurisdiction of the court and the apanage, and other departments of the crown or of religious institutions. These were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the justice of the peace; they were investigated by official attorneys or advocates; the method of proceeding and the course of appeals were the same as in all other civil disputes, with this difference, that in those the expedient of appeal was alone admissible, that they were not summarily treated, and could not be decided by oath or agreement; that the solicitor-general must give his decision before the passing of the verdict, and could propose the cassation of the judgment by the senate; that the crown was exempted, indeed, from the payment of expenses, but not from the indemnification of witnesses and competent judges.

By the side of the splendid arrangements for the administration of justice, which appeared in the plan published

on the 29th September, the concessions which permitted the self-government of the separate provinces appear rather moderate. Instead of the hoped-for political privileges, matters of a merely agricultural nature were consigned to provincial jurisdiction. As such were designated: the management of property, capital and incomes which belonged to the provincial and country districts, the construction and maintenance of buildings and highways, measures for the furtherance of public well-being, mutual insurances, the advancement of local trade and industry, the procurement of the material requirements of the military and civil administration, participation in the regulation of the duties of the post, the levying of those taxes which had by law been imposed on the organs of the country; proposals or decrees relating to matters of public local necessity, and all other affairs assigned to these organs.

There had before been no representation of provincial interests; and even municipal matters* had been completely dependent on the arbitrary will of the administration. Every three years, the most distinguished nobles of every province had been assembled, in order to propose certain elections; i. e. to elect the marshal of the province, the marshals of the districts, and the noble coadjutor of the magistrates, and to make propositions with respect to the affairs of the nobles, the acceptance or refusal of which was dependent on the local governments. Even on the movement for the emancipation of the peasants, these associations of nobles had exercised, as we have before seen, an influence not merely of a subordinate character.

In comparison with this former state of things, the new

* The larger Russian towns, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa, for instance, have since received new constitutions, which allow them greater freedom and independence in the election of their municipal magistrates.

arrangements marked a decided advance. The jurisdiction of the provincial assemblies was far greater than that of the assemblies of the nobles (which were moreover to continue in force); the decrees of the assemblies were put into execution by a committee elected by themselves, and (which was the main matter), all classes of the population were represented in these provincial courts. An organisation was aimed at, which, carried out on the principles of unity, should embrace the various provinces, and the districts of which these provinces consisted. It was arranged, that every district should have a district assembly, and a district administration elected by this assembly; and that every province should have a provincial assembly, and a provincial administration, *i. e.* a board of administration, chosen by the assembly.

The district assembly consisted of delegates which were chosen; i. from the landed proprietors of the district; ii. from every class of the inhabitants of the city; and iii. from an assembly of the elders of the peasant community, and of the village magistrates of all the peasant communities of the district. The participation in the election of these delegates was regulated and decided according to a property census; and the number of the delegates was fixed on the same principle; only those persons could be chosen as delegates who belonged to the respective electing bodies.

The district administration consisted of six delegates, who were chosen by the respective district assembly.

The provincial assembly consisted of district delegates who had been elected by the district assemblies, to the amount of two or three for every separate district, according to its extent; the corresponding provincial administration consisted of six delegates, who were appointed by the provincial assembly.

The district assemblies were presided over by a member appointed by the government; the provincial assemblies were presided over by a member appointed by the emperor; the provincial marshal was vice-president, and officiated when the president was prevented from appearing; the provincial and district administrations were presided over by the respective provincial or district marshals.

The assemblies took place every third year; those of the provinces lasted in no case longer than 20 days, and those of the districts not more than 7 days; the elected boards of administration, on the other hand, were permanently assembled. Decisions were passed by a simple majority of votes; for the competency of the assembly to form legal resolutions, it was necessary that at least two thirds of the members should be present. Transactions beyond the range of jurisdiction, such as discussion on questions relating to the empire, were prohibited.

The boards of administration might deal freely with matters referred to them, but they were responsible to the assembly.

The limits prescribed to us make it impossible for us to enter into the details which were observed in the practical working out of the plan contained in these outlines. As, however, we shall not again have occasion to revert at any length to the progress which has marked the institution of these provincial assemblies, we will here at once mention one circumstance with regard to them, which was of great importance for the future: namely, that the government so organised the representation of the various classes in these assemblies that the peasant-class prevailed; and thus the educated classes of the population were held in check, and all attempts to limit the power of the government could be hindered.

The great mass of the peasant representatives is even at the present time so uncultivated, that they can be guided without difficulty according to the wishes of the government. Added to this, there is yet another important point; the interests advocated by the peasant-classes stand in direct opposition to those of the nobility and the cultivated classes. The noble advocates the principle of personal property in the soil; this is utterly alien to the peasant, as no member of a peasant community possesses personal landed property, but lives with his village associates in undivided possession of the lands belonging to the community. In this manner the socialist principle of communism prevails in the provincial assemblies; the leaden weight of its interests drags along with it the cultivated classes, who are more feebly represented as regards numbers, and hinders them in the free development of their powers.

It is substantially for this reason that the provincial assemblies have hitherto accomplished so little. From the ignorance of most of their members, resolutions have been accepted which have either not been feasible at all, or else could not have been made practicable under the circumstances and with the existing means. Owing to the jealousy of the peasant majorities the boards of administration, entrusted with the execution of the decrees, were not composed of members of the nobility, who would have served for honor and political influence, but of people who regarded this work as a means for gaining money, and used it in a bureaucratic manner. The political duties of the citizen have given place to a mere trading spirit; the chief aim of the elected officials of the board is to secure, by any means, high salaries, and to use their influence over the peasants in persuading them to agree to a very high standard for these salaries; they accordingly

regard their vocation as a bureaucratic employment, and are principally bent on keeping their masters in good humor, and causing themselves to be re-elected. In this manner many millions were expended, without any thing substantial having been obtained.* Exceptions have only occurred where the nobles have managed to gain the ascendancy; as, for example, in the province of St. Petersburg. But here it may also lead to conflicts with the government, which is afraid lest these assemblies should assume political influence. Instead of adducing many instances of this, we will only mention one: the imposition of certain taxes is among the duties of the Provincial assemblies; but in December 1866, the government forbade the tax to be levied on the movable property of merchants and artisans. The St. Petersburg assembly declared, January 1867, that the government had not the right to pass in

* We quote the evidence of two organs of the press. After the official organ of the ministry of the interior had stated that, in 28 provinces alone, 21½ millions of rubles had been expended for self-government, the *Vesti*, the organ of the conservative party, observed that self-government was regarded by a numerous class of people, not as the exercise of a municipal duty, but as a branch of industry, and as a means of enrichment at the expense of the communities and provincial associations. With the preponderance of elements of this kind in the boards of administration, it is not to be wondered at that, instead of supplying practical wants, they are principally occupied in discussing immature plans of reform and changes in the law, and in criticising unprofitably the actions of the government. If help is really to be given, the liberal model must be set aside, and the measures placed in the hands of the cultivated and proprietary classes, tho' not without leaving the final decision in the hands of the representatives of communism: only when the exercise of self-administration becomes an indispensable work of honor, can we hope for improvement. The '*Moscva*' also, the adherent of this system, laments the crude and resultless treatment of matters, which is not worth the great expense lavished on it. The great mass of the delegates, it goes on to say, take so little part in the transactions, that, as a rule, only a half, and at times merely a third, appear at the sessions, and unripe speculatists alone speak. An assembly, for example, which had to dispose of 5000 s.-rbls, decreed the building of a school for 100,000 s.-rbls, without even inquiring as to the means for covering this amount.

any partial decree of the kind, and that it was not to be put in force during that year. At the same time it was resolved to request the minister of the interior to summon an assembly of representatives from all the provincial associations, and to discuss with these the matters in question. The government regarded this as an attempt to limit the Imperial power in convoking a parliament, and answered by closing the assembly at once, by suspending the civil rights of the St. Petersburg province for six months, and by sending into exile the leader of the party who had passed the resolution.

But the development of this institution (like all other circumstances referring to the legislation of September 1862) was determined by *one* event, which had its influence on the whole of Russian life, and to the consideration of which we must now pass: viz., the Polish and Lithuanian revolt, which broke out in January 1863; and from the effects of which the government and the people of Russia are still suffering. The revolutionary excitement in the two capitals of the empire of the Tzar, which, during the summer months of the year 1862, had existed for a short time, was just on the point of rekindling, when the tidings of the Polish insurrection reached St. Petersburg, and within a few weeks changged the aspect of affairs.

We regard the course of the Polish events as well known. We have said above that the provincial constitution, decreed in the spring of 1861 for the Polish kingdom, had met with refusal; that none of the Imperial governors sent to Warsaw had been able to put an end to the street tumults with which the democratic party stirred up the excitement of the people; and that even the reminders of the Marquis Vyelopolski, a patriot of the moderate party of the *Whites* (the aristocrats), had been rejected by the foolish advisers who swayed the public opinion of this unhappy

people. It is true, the marquis had on his side the greater part of the aristocratic party, who possessed their point of union in the agricultural society led by Count *Andreas Zamoisky*, but this party daily lost ground in the public opinion of the people. The Polish democrats residing abroad, who adopted the revolutionary demagogue as a vocation, and at whose head stood the unprincipled *Myroslavski*, ruled Warsaw so completely with the aid of a number of kindred spirits, that it was impossible for the Marquis and his friends to restore order and tranquillity, for the maintenance of which they had pledged themselves in St. Petersburg, and which was the necessary condition of all healthy advance, and of all the future welfare in the government. In the summer of 1862, the Grand-duke Constantine had been sent to Warsaw as vice-regent, and had entered into confidential relations with Vyelopolski; and the demagogues had replied to this appointment (evidencing as it did the Emperor's goodwill) with cunning expressions of esteem for the two men who were filled with the liveliest desire for the welfare of Poland, and were animated by the purest motives. The revolutionary spirit gained ground so rapidly that the neighbouring Lithuanian provinces also became imbued with it. In many of these provinces, which had not indeed belonged to Poland, but in which a large part of the population belonged to the Greek church and possessed Lithuanian Russian nationalities, and which was therefore regarded as Russian on the part of the government, the associations of the nobles demanded incorporation with the kingdom; in the streets of Vilna, Kovno, Grodno, and other towns, the same demonstrations were repeated as in Warsaw, and the state of things grew daily more difficult. Vyelopolski not only had his fears seriously aroused, not only lost his influence and the confidence of the emperor, but he was also

condemned to see the governors-general of Vilna and Kiev, who had quietly done their utmost to calm the Polish Lithuanian nobility, replaced by stern Russians, hostile to Poland. In this exigency he had recourse to a desperate expedient: on the occasion of the impending conscription of recruits, he gave orders to seize all the instigators of the disorders who carried on their disturbances in Warsaw and other cities, and who were in truth the most dangerous foes of the Polish cause, and, by placing them in Russian regiments, hoped to render them harmless. It is well known that this severe and scarcely justifiable measure brought the long-prepared revolt to an outbreak, and buried in a common destruction all Polish parties. As, however, we have here not to do with the Polish insurrection itself, but with its effects on Russian society, we cannot stop to detail each separate event. For our object it is sufficient to observe that the Polish Lithuanian revolution, during the first months of its duration, was condemned, with greater or less decision, by the aristocratic party, and that a large part of the 'Whites' adhered to Vyelopolski to the last; that, from the year 1863, a change of feeling took place in the mass of the aristocratic party, whose interest in the revolution was substantially to be attributed to the three great Powers who diplomatically interfered in favor of the revolutionary Poles, without estimating clearly the consequences of this step, and at once resolving to give force to their words by arms.

It was not till the tidings of the communications of Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys had reached Warsaw, that the heads of the agricultural society began to doubt their former policy. Then they asked themselves, with fearful anxiety, whether the Polish tory nobility was right in opposing a revolt which had carried with it the rest of the

nation, and with which the Western powers had begun to express their sympathy. Was it not to be feared that the withdrawal of the noblest and most influential Poles might avert the good intentions of England, France, and Austria, impede their actions, and give Russia the pretext for declaring the whole revolt to be an *émeute* of the mob, and for calling on the Russian sympathies of the nobility and their adherents? This consideration was of greater weight than the antipathy fostered in these circles against Myroslavski and his colleagues; it was of greater weight than the mistrust of the Western powers, who, in the year 1830, had proffered the same measures, and had only made the evil greater than it was before. Added to the responsibility which the conservative party, in case of their continued withdrawal, were bringing on themselves in the eyes of Europe generally, there was a feeling of misgiving at losing all moral influence, and of leaving Poland in future completely in the hands of the demagogues. Thus, the diplomatic intervention brought about the participation of the conservatives in a revolt which they had before condemned. Thus, at the same time, the continuance of Vyelopolski's system was made impossible; and the ruin was sealed of the only statesman who would have been able to advocate the cause of Poland successfully with the Russian government.

Since the beginning of the new Russian Régime, there had been, as we have before stated, a decided feeling in favor of Poland among the Russian liberals. These were linked with the Poles in the common desire for a free constitution and for liberal institutions; they had both languished in common under the oppression of the old system; they had both combated a common adversary in the statesmen of the old school; they had had common champions for Russian and Polish freedom in Herzen and Bakunin: why

should not the Polish revolution be supported by the Russ democracy and accompanied by a Russian Revolution? Not only in Warsaw had these questions been mooted, but even the Russ government had for a time been at a loss to answer them; indeed, even at the present time, it may appear doubtful whether the effects of the Polish Revolution would have terminated in this sense, had the revolt taken place half a year later, and had it waited for a later stage in the dissolution of the old Russian society. During the weeks in which the first tidings from the scene of the revolt arrived, there prevailed an expectant silence in the liberal circles of Moscow and Petersburg. The Sovremennic, and the other organs of the radical democracy dependent on Herzen's influence, uttered not a syllable which could have been regarded as a patriotic manifestation against the Poles; the organ of the philo-Slàv party, the '*Dyèn*', openly, and in the face of the censorship declared, that it was unfortunately not in a position to be able to express its opinion on the late event. Of Herzen, Bakunin, Ogarev, and the other London emigrants, it was stated that they had passionately taken up the cause of Polish independence; the Kolokol contained a notice, exhorting the officers of Polish regiments formally to express their refusal to fight *for* the cause of tyranny, and *against* the cause of freedom. Every thing depended on the side from which a courageous and decided word would be spoken — the dependence and immaturity of Russian society afforded a pledge that a word uttered at the right time and in the right manner would decide the matter, and would carry the masses with it.

This word *was* spoken, and by the same man that six months before had made the attempt to attack the mysterious power of Alexander Herzen, Michaël Katkov, who had in the meanwhile undertaken the editorship of the Moscow journal, and

had declared, in a manly and decided tone, that the times were passed in which Russia could with impunity amuse herself with liberal and cosmopolitan ideas; that, in the presence of the danger suddenly attacking the state, every thing was a crime that increased this danger, and that the Russ patriot had only *one* duty, namely, to strike to the ground every rebel who endangered the unity of the state, and to save his country. Long enough (he continued) have we forbearingly witnessed the doings of the rebels, and have restrained the avenging arm for the sake of Utopian liberalism; freedom, without a country, were but an empty phantom; self-preservation is the first duty of every state and of every nation. The point in question is, not more or less liberal concessions to the Poles, but whether Russia will have to recede behind the Vistula, and to give up the possession of the important frontier-lands which for seventy years have remained her undisputed right. The Russian state is a reality, which has been built up laboriously during a century and a half, and has obtained a place among the great powers of Europe; the maintenance of this state is the basis and the hope of all liberal Russian plans for the future. It is foolish to speak of the future world-wide sway of the Slavonic empire, and at the same time to break into ruins that state which is the sole personification of the Slavonic ideas. The name of citizen will, henceforth, be merited only by him who acknowledges this reality, who devotes all his powers to it, and who renounces all personal wishes and party plans until the boundaries of the state are secured. Only foolish sentimentality can see in the Poles aught else than foes of the Russian state; only criminal delusion can talk of rights which run counter to the interests of the Russian state. We now see how culpable and dangerous, from the first, was the spirit excited by the London

emigrants; for these men, who veiled themselves in the garb of patriotism, and spoke to the Russian people of their innate rights, are bathing themselves in the blood of Russian soldiers. He who has a spark of patriotic honor within him, must for ever break with these traitors, and must not put his sword within its sheath, until the last rebellious Pole lies stretched on the ground.'

Expressed with the energy of conviction, repeated daily for weeks, and fashioned anew in the boldest terms, this manly declaration could not fail to produce an effect. It needed only the aid of events, and Michaël Katkov was as unlimited a ruler of public opinion as, a few months before, the editor of the Kolokol had been. And that aid came in an unexpected and abundant measure. The Polish insurrection spread into Lithuania, and, by the end of February, the whole land was kindled with the revolutionary flame. Now was the moment come when, without difficulty, the banner could be raised under which the decided democratic party could be led into the contest against Poland. Lithuania had stood under Russian rule till the middle of the 16th century, and had embraced the opinions of the Oriental or Greek church. After its union with the Polish party, this land had become Polish and catholic in its views. The nobles had not been able to resist the allurements of the Jesuits and the splendor of Polish freedom; they had renounced the belief and the nationality of their fathers, and had become thoroughly Polish. But the common people had at least remained true to the national traditions, they had been compelled to bear the yoke of strict serfdom, and their temporal and spiritual tyrants had been these same Poles who were now leagued together as champions of freedom. 'Recovery of the Russian character of the Lithuanian land, recovery of the old national freedom, which

had once prevailed there', — this was the motto inscribed on the pages of the Moscow journal, and even the democratic party could not refuse it obedience. While the democrats were persuaded that a contest with the Polish claims on Lithuania was a truly liberal work, the orthodox philo-Slavs were impressed with the assurance that it was a matter of the utmost importance to resist the oppression of the Polish Catholic party, and to restore the Greek orthodox church to its old Lithuanian possession; the pan-Slavists were shewn that the Slavonian cause was at once the Russian cause; that the Poles had sold themselves to the West and to Catholicism, and must be brought back to obedience to the pan-Slavonic system. When, moreover, the dangers of an intervention from the Western powers and a foreign war threatened; the victory of the views advocated from Moscow became decided, and the means were found for reconciling Young Russia with the remains of the old system. Just as involuntarily as the year before the radical influence of the Kolokol had been imbibed, they now submitted to the power of the Moscow journal: the various parties all sought a shield against Polish assumption, and endeavored to surpass each other in enthusiasm for the Russianising of the Lithuanian and White Russian lands. For the thoughtless talkers who had never known any other religion than the worship of fashionable phrases, it was not difficult to exchange enthusiasm for 'freedom' with devotion to 'nationality', and thus to maintain their position, at the head of public opinion. For the government understood how with masterly power, to strengthen and make use of the revolution in men's minds which the new *Parole*, proclaimed in the Moscow journal, had produced. It built golden bridges for its hitherto democratic opponents, and invited them to take part in the national work of the pa-

cification of Lithuania, and in the liberation of the Lithuanian people. The Moscow journal had brought it to pass that the same general Muravyèv who had been hitherto hated as a military despot, hostile to freedom, and whose name no 'liberal' had mentioned without adding an imprecation: — that this very man should be sent to Vilna to paralyse the revolt with an iron hand. The wild brutality of this inexorable foe to Poland was now regarded as citizen-virtue, and was extolled as unselfish devotion to the sacred cause of his country, which needed services such as his, in order to issue from the contest as victor, and to restore the 'Russian character' to the northwest provinces. Muravyèv interpreted this phrase with the most fearful reality. In a land whose cultivated classes had for centuries consisted of nothing but Poles and Catholics, in which the ideas 'culture' and 'Polish rule' had long been synonymous, the 'national' governor-general treated the Poles as foreigners, forbade the use of the Polish language and the employment of Polish characters, ordered hundreds of Catholic churches to be closed, under the pretext that they had been Russian 400 years before; — and executed all this with the approval of the Russian Press and the Russian public. As incapable as they had been at Moscow and St. Petersburg, in the years 1859 to 1861, to distinguish anarchy from freedom; equally incapable were they now to distinguish the law of self-preservation from the rudest barbarism, and the trampling down of all human rights. Patriotic phrases were uttered without consideration, and there was soon no horror that was not invested with some show of patriotism, and thus pronounced salutary. There was no banquet, and no feast, which did not conclude with telegrams sent to the Russ leader at Vilna and to the Moscow journalist who had aroused the national spirit to consciousness, had carried out

the Russian revolution in the interest of the state, and had opened new paths to the Slavonic cause.

Two journals which ventured to speak of the civilising influence which the Roman Catholic church had exercised during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries on the hitherto utterly barbarous population of Lithuania, were prohibited in one week; and the Russ press, which had before jealously guarded freedom of thought, uttered not a word with regard to this government measure.

The St. Petersburg assembly of nobles, which had shewn serious signs, in February 1862, of demanding a constitution, rejected with a large majority, in March 1863, Platonov's proposal 'to request the government to admit some deputies from the nobility into the Imperial council': those same associations of nobles in the interior of the kingdom, who, scarcely 15 months before, had been eager to abolish all the privileges of the nobility, now poured forth loyal addresses, which dwelt on the historical vocation of the Russian noble, or pressed in crowds to the monastery churches to pray 'for the safety of our arms', and to be presented with pictures of the saints.

All these wonders had been effected by the carrying of the Polish insurrection into Lithuania, Russia Minor, and White Russia: the parties who, at the beginning of the revolt, had scarcely been able to conceal their sympathies with it, had now put themselves at the head of the anti-Polish movement, ever since they had received evidence of the designs of the Poles on Lithuania, and had known that they were supported by the Western Powers. The government, with great skill, understood how to awaken Russ national ambition, and to appropriate it to their own ends. While all opposition to their will was regarded at once as the moral support of the attempt of the Western Powers on 'Sacred

Russia', they disarmed their adversaries without difficulty. All parties knew that they would forfeit all political credit, if once they could be accused of an understanding with the enemy of the endangered unity of the empire, and with the foe of exclusive national Russianism.

Thus the Gog of the Revolution was expelled by the Magog of nationality; and, when Prince Gortchakov rejected in his despatches the diplomatic intervention of the Western Powers, the whole of Russia seemed animated with the one idea of the annihilation of Poland.

But one more important circumstance was added which gave its decided stamp to the turn taken by the internal policy of Russia in the early part of the year 1863. When Muravyev arrived at Vilna, the arrangements between the Polish landed proprietors and their freed Lithuanian and White-Russian peasants were in course of proceeding. In order to separate the peasant-class by its interests from the revolutionary nobles, and gain them over to the cause of the government, Muravyev issued two decrees, which declared the peasants henceforth actual proprietors of the farms which they had hitherto possessed as tenants. The price of redemption which was to have been paid to the noble by way of indemnification for his former property, was so slight that the peasants really received their land as a gift, and thus were bound in gratitude to the government. Besides this, it was decided that the sums to be paid by the peasants should pass into the treasury of the state; and only those nobles received it who had taken no part in the revolt. This measure, which detracted in the most sensitive manner from the right of property, and robbed the landed proprietors of Lithuania of three fourths of their wealth, was as much aproved of by the Russ democracy as by the Moscow journal. Crowds of Russian democrats pressed into

Muravyev's service, to conduct the arrangement between proprietors and peasants, both for the sake of being active as 'missionaries of the Russian cause and democratic ideas', and of gaining high salaries and rank. It was now the state itself which assisted these advocates of subversion to obtain employment, and gave them opportunity for manifesting their hatred against the nobles and their predilection for the Russian peasant. The nobles and clergy of Lithuania were declared to be utterly beyond the pale of the law; their language was forbidden by Draco-like laws; their religion was placed under the control of the police; their property was surrendered to the peasants; and all this took place in the name of democratic principles! In every conflict between landed proprietor and peasant, the latter carried the point through the democratic 'missionaries' who had migrated thither from Moscow and Petersburg. Every excess committed against a Pole, even the plunder and burning of baronial mansions, was sanctioned by the patriotic object; for in all probality the injured man had been associated in the revolt. National fanaticism and democratic terrorism were sanctioned by the state, and had become a government system: even the denunciation of persons who had conversed in the Polish language was regarded as patriotic and honorable, and was pursued by people who, in other respects, would be called 'gentlemen'. The government and the people of Russia declared freely and openly, that they wished to eradicate from the soil of Lithuania and White-Russia the higher classes which were intermingled with Polish elements, and to place all political importance in the lower classes. In December 1865, a law, as is well known, was published, which commanded all persons compromised in the revolt to sell their estates within a short period allotted; another law forbade persons of Polish origin and the Catholic religion to pur-

chase estates in the provinces belonging to the jurisdiction of Kiev and Vilna.

These measures against the Polish nobility, which the government had justified at first from the force of circumstances, and from the necessity of destroying the influence of the revolutionary Polish nobles over the Lithuanian and White-Russian peasants, developed into a formal system under the hand of the Russ democracy. The same privy councillor Nikolaus Milyutin, who had represented the radical party in the committee for the abolishment of serfdom was commissioned with the remodelling of Poland after the suppression of the armed revolt, and the appointment of Count Berg to be governor of the kingdom. It was his work that a law of commutation was here passed, which ruined the noble, and made the peasant the proprietor of his rented land; that the estates of the clergy were confiscated, and that most of the monasteries were abolished. In Poland also all political importance was to be placed in the lower classes; it was hoped that these might be Russianised and that thus the nobles might be eradicated, and Polish nationality fashioned into a form of its own. Again the energy of the Russ democracy was appealed to, and again Young Russia sent her best men as 'missionaries' into the contest against Poland and Catholicism: a succession of well known leaders of the philo-Slavic party, Prince Tcherkaski, Yuri Samarin, Koschelev, and others, entered into the service of the state, and undertook to ruin the Polish nobility by a partial law of commutation in favor of the Polish peasantry, and to transform the kingdom in which dwelt 6 millions of Catholic Poles, into a Russian and, if possible, a Greek orthodox province. The Russ democracy, who, as we know, saw in the peasant class the vehicle of the future world-wide supremacy of Russia, had a special object

in view in their participation in the agrarian arrangements between the lord and the peasant in Poland, Lithuania, White-Russia, and the Ukraine; they hoped here also to prepare the soil for the socialistic system of the Russian peasant, and to be able to carry out that principle according to which all men had an equal claim to the parent soil.

This common task of subduing the Polish insurrection, in which the democracy and the government of Russia were unitedly engaged, became at the same time the basis of the new political system which had prevailed in Russia for the last five years. This system is, the league of Imperial absolutism with the peasant masses against the cultivated classes of society. In Poland and Lithuania, these classes were both non-Russian and Catholic; they had rebelled against the government and had brought about the revolution: in order to subdue them, Russia had been obliged to take the peasant class into her interest, and to check civilisation. The government wished to stop here; it wished to continue to stand forth in the other parts of the empire as the guardian of conservative interests, and only to go hand-in-hand with the democracy in the former Polish lands, and systematically to ruin the nobles, who had shewn themselves as foes. But it was soon evident that such a double position was impossible; that the democracy demanded, in payment of the good service they had rendered in the Polish question, nothing less than authority over the whole home policy of the empire; and that the government could not help taking on itself the consequences of the terrorism which, in its name, had been exercised on the unhappy Poles. The Moscow journal felt itself to be the unlimited ruler of Russian public opinion and, at the same time, the adviser of the government: without its assistance it would never have been possible to induce the Russ democracy to undertake their bloody office

against the Poles, or to make a Muravyev a national hero. The Moscow journal, moreover, challenged its party, and this with the greatest boldness to say, and to demand, what appeared to them right. Altho' the power of the censor was not yet abolished, M. N. Katkov criticised all the actions of the government with the utmost freedom, and dictated the appointment and dismissal of ministers and governors-general. His counsels had saved his country in the year 1863; whoever did not follow them now, was therefore a traitor. This public writer exercised a terrorism, such as can only be compared with that of the men of the French Revolution; a terrorism in the name of freedom, and for the sake of the people. Since the other organs of the press were dependent on their censors, the Moscow journal concentrated within itself all the power which could be exercised by the press and by public opinion. Such an extreme instance of the force of influence has never perhaps emanated from the office of an author; and the best of men might not be able to withstand it. M. N. Katkov was, and is now, not a democrat; but he has been compelled to form an alliance with the democratic party of Milyutin, in order to carry out his Polish Lithuanian policy. The unity of the state is, with him, the highest principle, and to carry out this principle he regards as the aim of his life. For this reason, and in order to hold out the surest guarantees for the unity of the empire, he demanded the extirpation of the Polish nobility from the Lithuanian lands, the blending of the kingdom of Poland with the Russian empire, subsequently the Russianising of all the other frontier provinces of the empire, inhabited by west-Europeans. The democrats led by Milyutin desire the same: they hate alike in the Poles of Lithuania, in the Germans of Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland, and in the Swedes of Finland, not only the foreigners, but the aristocrats who

rule over the Lithuanians and White Russians, over the Livonians, Esthonians, and Curlanders. Katkov desires to Russianise all these lands; the democratic party desire to extirpate the aristocratic rule of the cultivated classes in them, and to place the political balance in the lower classes, especially in the peasant-class. What the one demands in the name of the unity of the state, the other demands in the name of democratic ideas; in their practical aims both tendencies meet; in Poland, as well as in Lithuania, in Livonia as well as in Finland. They are mutually indispensable to each other, and therefore they make concessions to each other: M. N. Katkov allows the plunder of the noble in favor of the peasant, which is not really in accordance with his taste; the democrats carry on their work in alliance with gensd'armes and Cozacs, whom they detest as attributes and lictors of that military despotism which is hostile to freedom.

On this democratic and national coalition the government has become dependent, ever since it accepted their services at Vilna, Warsaw, and Kovno. The government had no thought, at first, of carrying the war, waged in Lithuania against the west-European element, into other non-Russ provinces; M. N. Katkov, however, repeated unceasingly that the Germans in the Baltic provinces, and the Swedes in Finland, were just as dangerous as the Poles, and that the principle, once accepted, demanded that these provinces should be also Russianised; and declared that the Russ nation, who had paid with its blood for the maintenance of Poland, could not endure that a new focus of democratic tendencies should be planted on the shores of the Baltic, and a new Poland be prepared. The government replied, that it was convinced of the loyalty of the German and Finland provinces, and wished to leave them untouched; M. N.

Katkov was of opinion that he must know the matter best, and his democratic allies declared at once, that such an aristocratic arrangement of things as prevailed in the Baltic provinces, was in itself anti-Russ, because anti-democratic; and that the interests of the state demanded that here also the political balance should be transferred from the higher to the lower classes, as these classes could more easily be Russianised. Among the highest magistrates of the government the national democratic party had already a number of friends who shared its sentiments: thus, for example, the minister of war, Milyutin, whose brother was secretary of state for Poland, the minister of domains, Seleny, and others. — But there was no lack also of a conservative opposition party. In the government, as well as out of it, there were men who not only talked of freedom and country, and who hated the bloody deeds of Muravyev; but who also perceived that the league formed by the democracy and bureaucracy, and directed against the Poles, Germans, and Swedes, would at length master the government, and, after annihilating the foreign aristocrats, would demand the sacrifice also of the Russ nobility. Several ministers, such as Valnyev, the minister of the Interior, and Golovnin, the minister of education, Prince Suvarov, the governor-general of Petersburg, and others, were the adversaries of Katkov, and hated the bloody liberators and friends of the Lithuanian and Polish peasants, in whom they saw the enemies of the conservative principle and of West-European civilisation. One after another, all these men laid down their offices, to give place to the advocates or the tolerators of the Moscow journalist.

It was essentially favorable to the influence which the democracy exercised over the government, that the latter had for some time regarded the Russ nobles with a sus-

picious eye. The alliance of absolutism with the peasant-masses excited in the nobles the desire to procure some security against both; and this could only be effected by limiting the absolute power of the Tzar in favor of the educated classes. The *Vestye*, the organ of the conservative party, established in St. Petersburg, in the year 1862, perceived in the early months of the Polish insurrection, that the means employed for opposing it were highly dangerous encroachments on the right of property; and that the theory of placing the political balance in the lower classes would gradually be applied to Russia also. For these reasons, a portion of the nobility formed a party *against* Milyutin's policy, and against Katkov's Polish measures.

The necessity for a limitation of absolutism, by the creation of actual guarantees for the right and property of individuals, had been felt increasingly, from year to year, among the more cultivated of the Russ nobles. Every attempt, however, which had been made in this respect by the nobles of Moscow and Petersburg, only served to increase the power of the bureaucratic adherents of absolutism: for instance, the address which the Moscow nobles resolved on, in January 1865, in order to impart a feeling of mistrust among the democratic authorities, was rejected by the Emperor, and was answered with a rescript to the minister of the Interior, which once for all cut short all similar encroachments on the Imperial initiative. Henceforth, the democratic party was regarded by the government as the most reliable support of absolutism, and the aristocratic party was looked on as its most dangerous foe: just as in France the league was concluded between personal despotism and the masses, and its aim was directed against the middle classes.

Only once, and that for a short time, it appeared as if the government would change its system, and again have

recourse to the conservative element.' On the 4th April 1866, Vladimir Karakosov, a former Moscow student, discharged his pistol at the Tzar, as he was strolling in the summer garden, and it was soon proved that this man was no Pole and no aristocrat, but a socialist Russian democrat, and a member of a revolutionary society, established in Moscow and in Petersburg; a society in which no German and no Pole was to be found. Since the year 1863, there have not been in Russia many of the adherents of the pure socialist principles imported from France, who had been led by Herzen; the bulk of the party had, as we know, at the outbreak of the Polish revolt, passed into the national democratic camp, had formed a new object for that love of destruction which had originally been directed against the government, in the contest against Polish and Catholic influence, and had satisfied its socialistic conscience with the consolation that the introduction of Russ peasant-communism in Poland and Lithuania would best prepare the way for the complete annihilation of personal property in the soil. The minority of decided socialists had yielded reluctantly to the pressure of circumstances only; left to themselves, they indulged in the conviction of the necessity of overturning all existing order; of annihilating property, state, church, marriage, society, &c., of placing communism instead of socialism on the throne, and of beginning this great work by the murder of the Tzar. This small, but fanatical party were called the '*Nihilists*', because they would accept absolutely nothing, and only saw happiness in the destruction of every thing existing. Between them and the above mentioned men of the national democratic party there lay a deep gulf; yet still there were not wanting points of contact: and that the hatred against the nobles, and against personal property, had been increased by the democrats, is not to be denied

This circumstance was sufficient to procure the conservative party the ascendancy for the moment. Count Shuvalov, a decided opponent to Milyutin, and governor-general of Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland, was appointed director-general of the secret (political) police, a few days after the attempt: the direction of the investigation with regard to Karakosov and his colleagues was consigned to Count Muravyev, who had been a decided enemy to Poland, and, indeed, the first Russianiser of Lithuania; but who, as an old soldier and aristocrat, was filled with deadly hatred against his former party. Tho' he had made use of the socialist bureaucrats during the period of his Vilna pro-consulate, he would nevertheless know nothing of their 'modern and democratic' tendencies: — he belonged to the school of Nicolas, and saw with repugnance that civilians in general were placed in authority. The first victim of his newly-obtained influence was Golovnin, the minister of education, an adherent of the Grand-duke Constantine; this statesman was reproached with having prepared the way for the dissemination of the communist and materialistic doctrines of *Nihilism*, by the favors he bestowed on the acquisition of general knowledge, and on the study of natural science; and he was replaced by the conservative Count Folstoy, a friend of Shuvalov's.

A succession of other important changes soon manifested the increasing influence of the conservative tendencies. Shuvalov's successor in Riga was the liberal conservative Count *Baranov*, a personal friend of the emperor; Finland received as governor, Count *Adlerberg* (the second son of the court-minister), a man also belonging to the moderate party; *Delyanov*, who held similar opinions, was made colleague to the minister of education, and Prince *Liéven* was appointed curator of the St. Petersburg district of instruc-

tion, and master of the ceremonies. Lastly, it may be imputed to Shuvalov's influence that *von Reutern*, the minister of finance, was preserved from the destiny decreed him, of following his friend Golovnin into private life; but he was obliged to consent to accept as his colleague, General Greigh, a friend of the young minister of the police. These personal changes, which quickly followed each other, soon received their authentic interpretation in an Imperial rescript of the 23rd May: Right, Property, and Religion (it was said in this document, which was completely ignored by the western press, pre-occupied as it was at that time with the troubles of war) were heavily threatened by dangerous socialist intrigues, traces of which had been brought to light by the late outrage; the liberal intentions of the government had been misunderstood: and the Emperer solemnly declared, that he perceived the necessity of the right of property, that he would support the conservative element of the state, the nobles especially, and would put down any agitation against them, let it proceed from whom it might.

This imperial manifesto was followed by various acts on the part of the government; from which it was to be inferred that it was resolved to draw the reins more closely. Two radical and democratic journals were suppressed, and the Moscow journal, which had been hitherto all-powerful, and which, it had been decided, stood beyond the reach of the law, was suspended for two months, on account of disobedience to the directions of the minister of the Interior. Great, however, was the general astonishment, when, towards the end of May, it became known that Nicolaus Milyutin (the head of the socialist bureaucratic party, the decided foe of the nobles and of conservative principles, and hitherto only director of the committee for the remodelling of the Polish and Russian agrarian affairs) had been appointed

secretary of state for Poland. It could not be expressed more plainly than by this appointment, that the Imperial resolutions in favor of the conservative principle had a very definite limit; that Poland stood out of the pale of the law; that the attempt was to be made to govern on the one side on conservative, and on the other on socialist and terrorist principles; and that in the one country property and right were to be preserved, and in the other most unsparing policy of expediency was to hold sway.

This policy, and the influence of the democratic bureaucracy with Katkov at its head, have prevailed up to the present time. The sentence passed on the Moscow journal for its insubordination was personally rescinded by the Emperor, in June 1866; and in the following year, *Valuyev*, the conservative minister of the Interior, was dismissed; Prince Suvarov, after dismissal from the Governor-generalship of Petersburg, was assigned a high military appointment; and Milyutin, the Polish secretary of state, owing to severe illness, was replaced by a successor of equally radical principles. After a short conservative episode, the power of the democratic socialist and strictly national ideas stood unshattered on their former basis. The example that the government had given in Lithuania and Poland, where, in spite of the impoverishment and desolation of the country, the system of terrorism was adhered to, had a stronger effect than the conservative manifesto of May 1866. The government could not, and cannot at the present day, shake off all consistency of action. It is impossible in one part of the empire to promote culture and progress on a conservative basis, and in the other half to extirpate the means of civilisation, and to sacrifice the right of property in favor of expediency. It is true, the attempt is still being made to proceed in the path of reform, and to extirpate the evil from which

people, state, and church, are suffering; but the object ever in view — namely, that the Russ power of the *present day* and the Russ church *of the present day*, should make their victorious entrance into the western provinces of the monarchy, and be artificially linked with this heathful life, checks the progress of reform at every step, and puts an end to all freedom and to all consciousness of right action.

The following chapter of this work will point out in detail the unsalutary influence of the new Russian system. The dissertation on Russ communism will exemplify the dangers of socialism, which is necessitated by the Russ agrarian system, and the chapter on the Baltic provinces of Russia will exhibit the sad fate of a country, organised on west-European principles, which is doomed, in spite of its strictly loyal behaviour, to be a second Lithuania; and which the government, if it does not change its system, will be obliged to abandon, against its will, to national democracy, and consequently to barbarism.

Russian Communism.

Circumstances occur in the life of nations the importance of which is exaggerated by contemporaries; and others there are of which the seasonable consideration and cognisance are intentionally neglected, or even ignored. Among these latter must be numbered the institution of the Russ communism, or the equal right of all the peasants to the soil, an institution, known indeed by name for 20 years, the practical importance of which has been unceasingly increasing since the beginning of the decade now running to its close, and which, indeed, shews signs of becoming the foundation-stone of the whole organisation of eastern Europe; but which, in its nature and importance, has not been, up to the present time, scientifically discussed by any one. This is all the more to be wondered at; as the question with regard to laborers, in the solving of which modern political economists have been vainly engaged for years, and which universally forms a matter of anxious interest, stands in direct connexion with the ideas held in Russia, as to the providential design of communism; and the institution itself affords an experiment for the solving of the great social problem. A tolerably one-sided predilection for questions

relating to movable property is, indeed, one of the marks of modern national economy; and the disregard of the institution of communism is evidently connected with that neglect of all agrarian questions which has been observable in recent times. The matter of which we are here speaking is, however, of far more importance in a political than in a scientific aspect; because for a number of years it has exercised a decided influence on the proceedings of the Russian legislature. When it is, nevertheless, just as stubbornly ignored by politicians of our time as by men of science, the reproach of careless depreciation of all that comes from the East, a reproach long merited by western Europe with regard to Russia, appears enhanced by a new argument.

The discovery of the system of communism is the merit of the well known Baron *August von Haxthausen*, on his Russian travels (1842 and 1843); who, at the same time, detected the existence of that other 'primal phenomenon' of Russ national life, the *'Raskol'* (separation) of the united body of orthodox sects. The zealous Catholic party had sought every where support for their favorite idea, the union of the Eastern with the Roman Catholic church, and had thus become more closely acquainted with the religious condition of Russia, and with Russian sectarianism, than any west-European before them; the earnestness with which they entered into the various points of the great religious contest in the East contrasted too thoroughly with the haughty indifference to the unreasoning faith of the masses which had been exhibited formerly, even in Russia, by the more cultivated classes, to fail in its effect on *those* who could give real information respecting the nature and teachings of the three schismatical parties. Haxthausen had proceeded in a similar manner with the Russ communities (or *communes*, landgemeinde): his aversion to the

'liberal and levelling *economism*' of modern times, his endeavor to avoid its rule, and to point out the weak side of those solvings of social problems advocated by liberalism, quickened his eye for all the forms of political and social life which differed from those of western Europe. Thus it was, that he was able to discover and to point out peculiar 'organic' formations of the national mind, and profound revelations of Slavonic national peculiarity, where even the native inhabitants only saw the remains of the nomadic character of their race, rude forms of some country custom founded in abuse, the opposition to which had been regarded as the task of the cultivated classes as well as of the government. They knew, it is true, that, in the Russ communities, it had been the custom from ancient times to regard all the parcels of land belonging to the inhabitants of a village as the common property of the tenants, and periodically to distribute them in equal portions among the married men, according to their number; but it had never entered into the mind of any one to attach any importance to this national custom, or to consider it worthy of closer attention. Thus matters had remained, until Herr von Haxthausen came to Russia, in the year 1842, and subjected the agrarian institutions of the country to careful investigation. Shortly afterwards, he communicated these observations, and the thoughts to which they had given rise, to a circle of aspiring young men in Moscow, with whom he had become acquainted on his journey.

The point of time, at which this communication was made, was just as remarkable as the circle to which it was made. During the previous decade, a circle of aspiring young students had met together at the Moscow university, their central point of union being their interest in the newly imported German philosophy, especially the doctrines of

Hegel and Schelling. Disgusted with the empty show of uniformity and with the insipidity of the prevailing society, and of that strict absolutist system which threatened to stifle all free action; these youths had taken refuge in the realm of free thought, in order exclusively to devote themselves to the worship of their philosophic ideal. This circle gradually divided itself into two different coteries: one of which (to this Alexander Herzen belonged) made the French socialists their favorite study; while the other entered profoundly into the ideas of Schelling and his natural philosophy, and passed from these to the German Romanticists. This coterie (to which Constantin *Aksakov* and his brother Ivan, the two *Kircyevski*, *Chomyäkov*, *Yuri Samarin*, and others belonged) developed that school of the Russian Romanticists (the so-called *philo-Slavs)* who saw in the west-European institutions, introduced by Peter the Great, the roots of all Russian evils; who proclaimed a pure national progress on the basis of the Russian middle-ages; and who regarded a return to the forsaken old Slavonic traditions, and to the Byzantine church-polity, as the preliminary condition of all healthful life, either in the Russian state or nation. With the zeal of youthful enthusiasm, these patriotic fanatics devoted themselves to the study of the national history previous to Peter the Great; while, at the same time, they advocated a return to pure nationality, endeavored to enter into relations with the lower classes, indeed, at times, assumed the national attire, and appeared, to the astonishment of Moscow society, with the shirt over the trowsers, and in the sleeveless peasant's jacket, which had been worn for a hundred and fifty years only by peasants and the poorest townsfolk. As the nobles and the higher classes had apostatised from their nationality, and had rendered homage to the idols of the west, the philo-

Slavs believed that the masses of the people who had remained true to their nationality were alone called to be the vehicle of carrying-on the history of Russia, and that in this feeling they must be trained to take part in her political life. Hand in hand with these doctrines, the affinity of which with the Teutomania of Jahn and Massmann is patent to all, extravagant hopes were raised respecting a pan-Slavonic empire, to which the Russ people, having returned to the forsaken shrines of their fathers, were destined since the nations of the west had left the simplicity of the primitive christianity of the east. From Hegel's philosophy of history the young fanatics knew that a new race, called to have dominion over the world, must be, at the same time, the bearers of a new idea, of a new principle. Long had they vainly endeavored to discover this idea; when suddenly Herr von Haxthausen appeared in Moscow, and communicated to his friends (he had been before acquainted with Kireyevski and Chomyäkov) the discovery, which had unexpectedly come across him, in his investigations regarding the rural organisation of Russia.

On this communication it seemed to the apostles of the future Slavonic empire as if the scales had fallen from their eyes; the long-sought-for Slavonic primary phenomenon, the idea whereof Russia was called to be the victorious champion, had been found, and, indeed, found by a friend; the despised and humbled peasantry had carried it silently within them, and had thus saved it from the hands of the rapacious foes who, since the days of Peter, had persecuted all Russ peculiarity, and proclaimed it heretical. Henceforth, the institution of communism was the Alpha and Omega of philo-Slavic wisdom, and, at the same time, the bond which knit this coterie to the French-following socialistic school of

Herzen and the young Russ Hegelians. They saw in Haxthausen's discovery the solution of the social questions, and of the problem for which Fourier, St. Simon, and Cabet, had toiled in vain.

Years elapsed before any thing was heard in wider circles of the providential significance, and even of the existence of Russ communism. The youthful ardor of the philo-Slavic school evaporated, its members were scattered to the winds, Herzen, and the other representatives of the socialistic student-party were exiled to Siberia, or lived abroad as unknown fugitives; and western Europe had taken far more lively interest in the other subjects of Haxthausen's studies, than in his supposed agrarian discovery. It was not till the year 1848 that the doctrine of the world-redeeming power of communism, and of its significance with regard to the future Slavonic empire, was again taken up, and that by Alexander Herzen, who announced it in his paper '*s'tovo Bérega*', and in several other pamphlets, and spoke of it as the 'new formula of civilisation'. The interpretation which he and his adherents gave to this discovery of Haxthausen's was purely socialistic; and hence, as we shall presently see, differing in many points from that of the philo-Slavs.

Years again elapsed, without much mention being made of communism, and of the task which Herzen had arrogated to it, beyond the circle of the London emigrants and demagogues: curiously enough, the Westphalian Baron who made the discovery is passed over in silence in most Russian publications. The reactionary wind which blew through France and Germany, was thoroughly unfavorable to occupation with socialistic problems; and in Russia, where the oppression of the old system had, since the Hungarian campaign, reached its zenith, every thing which savored of occupation with political matters was interdicted. All the more

lively was the interest with which men's minds reverted to the ideas of Herzen and Haxthausen, when, on the close of the eastern war, the abolition of serfdom was brought forward, and for years occupied all Russian hearts and heads. This period coincided, as is well known, with that of the awakening of the Russian press, and of that passion of liberalism which seized all classes of Russian society. On all sides the government was now stormed with requests that, in the remodelling of the relations between peasant and lord they would leave the national sanctuary of communism untouched. While Herzen combined this demand with that of a socialistic democratic state, Aksakov, the editor of the philo-Slavic journal *Dyèn* (the Day), desired, as the result of the Russ principle of communism, at least the abolition of the nobility; Herr v. Haxthausen entered the lists on behalf of his protegé, with the pamphlet, published in Paris, '*De l'abolition, par voie législative, du partage égal et temporaire des terres, dans les communes russes*', and recommended forbearance towards it in the conservative aristocratic interest. The government, to whom it was essential to carry out the arrangement between lords and peasants as quickly and happily as possible, were afraid, after short reflection, to venture on a simultaneous economical reform affecting all branches of civil and social life; and they decreed the maintenance of the agrarian institution hitherto in force, adding certain modifications, to which we shall hereafter revert more fully. At the same time they announced thro' their official organs that, while they wished to be forbearing to national customs, they were very far from ascribing to the institution that fundamental and socialistic importance which was imputed to it by the philo-Slavs and young Russian democrats. The latter desired nothing less than the complete abolition of all personal right of property,

gratuitous distribution of all the soil among the peasants, and full acknowledgment of the axiom, that all Russians had an equal claim on the parent earth.

In the revolutionary tumult which raged between the years 1857 and 1863, and amidst the numerous simultaneous efforts of democrats and liberals for the introduction of a constitution resting on the broadest basis, for the abolition of nobility, and the reform of justice and of the administration; the voices which desired to make communism the basis and corner-stone of the future Russian state were drowned by others. Altho' the 'new formula of civilisation' played a certain part, it did not arrive at supremacy, especially, as the fundamental principle of 'the annihilation of individuality', which the philo-Slavs found expressed in communism, would not exactly suit the wishes of the democratic ultras, who were the leaders of public opinion. When the government vigorously interfered against the secret revolutionary societies, who wished to extort the gratuitous distribution of the soil, and for this object proceeded to incendiarism and revolutionary proclamations, the prospects of the friends of the new principle seemed gloomy indeed. It was not till after the Polish insurrection of 1863, that in this, as in many other respects, an important change occurred. In opposition to the Polish nobility, who, with the Catholic clergy, had taken the lead in the revolutionary movement, the government proceeded, in 1863, to remodel the relations of the peasants in Poland, and in the former Polish provinces of western Russia. The peasant was not only to be freed from all the dependence in which he had hitherto stood to the landed proprietor; but the government wished at the same time to establish another principle among the peasant-class, and to make the peasant-serfs possessors of parcels of land. It was hoped that the *whole*

rural population would in this manner be drawn into the interests of the government, and would be guarded from the risk of infection by the revolutionary Polish nobility and clergy. Scarcely had the secretary of state, Milyutin, the author and founder of this plan of organisation, begun his work with the assistance of his brother, the minister for war, and *Selenni*, the minister of domains; before the leaders of the various democratic and philo-Slavic factions, who were soon to be blended in *one* national party, flocked to his standard, to join in the realisation of their long-cherished political ideal. The great intellectual movement, which had begun with the emancipation-ukaz of 1861, was directed into the course of regular bureaucratic action. Theory was now to become fact. More than ever the world-redeeming power of the new formula of civilisation was believed in. 'The Slavonic race' (it was now said) had received the mission to break the spell by which the nations of the West have bound the lower and destitute classes of society; the emancipation of the fourth class, the solution of the social question by means of the old Russ principle of communism, was their historical mission, the title on which they were called to rule the European world. On the strength of this principle, Russia had broken the fetters which the Polish nobility had laid upon the peasants and landless serfs in Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine; led by this principle, she had the same mission to accomplish in the other parts of the empire, organised on the basis of west-European civilisation, and to pass beyond its limits towards the West. Until this great end should be attained, all the other duties of the state were to be adjourned; not until the day of victory were the claims of freedom, of law, and of civilisation, to be settled. The doctrine of the equal claim of all to the soil, of the necessity of a change from personal to common property, was

the banner under which the Russo-Slavic race were called on to fight, and to conquer western Europe'.

This opinion is, even at the present day, widely spread in the influential democratic and patriotic circles of Moscow and Petersburg, and is not wholly alien to the statesmen whom we have mentioned above. 'That this, and no other, is the vocation of our nation' (wrote a clever Russian journalist to the author in the year 1865), 'is to be seen from our whole history. All attempts which have been made on Russian soil towards the formation of an aristocratic state have failed. Thus, for instance, the aristocratic republics of Novgorod and Pskov, which were broken up by the tzars, to whom we owe the unity of the Russian state, and who were essentially supported in their work by the lower classes, and by the *Smerdi* (serfs), who possessed no rights in those republics; and, equally so, the attempt at the establishment of an oligarchy under the Empress Anna. When, after the accession of the present sovereign, our people were freed from the fetters of serfdom, and the whole nation was led on liberal principles, we made a variety of attempts; — we tried to establish a constitution, to which the government should be urged; we tried a free press; the establishment of the reign of law after the west-European model, &c., — nothing has succeeded; nay, the state even incurred the danger of being broken up into a revolutionary and cosmopolitan chaos. The soil was as yet too rigid to bear the fruits of such refined civilisation. The Polish revolt has brought us to our senses again, and has led us back to our historical vocation. By the institution of communism, and the negation of individual property in the soil, *we have everywhere in the world set the bondman free*. We have begun with Poland and Lithuania, and by this means have crushed the revolutionary nobles of these lands; and we will not rest until the principle

of communism is acknowledged, here and in all the western provinces of our empire, and is carried out to the utmost. Absolutism, which we foolishly assailed a few years ago, is the political form best adapted to the carrying out of this principle. A constitutional state would fetter our hands, and embarrass our proceedings against the privileged and aristocratic classes. Only when these classes of society are abolished do we need those strict legal forms which were made use of in Germany, and especially in Prussia, for the purpose of bending the lower classes beneath the yoke of the proprietors and capitalists. I consider the liberal economists of western Europe, highly as I personally esteem them, as the most dangerous foes to modern society, because they use the forms of liberalism to depress the portionless in favor of the proprietor. *Lassalle* is the only man of importance whom western Europe has produced in the last decade. Our law of communism, which affords to every one the possibility of gaining a share in the soil, is the fulfilment of that which this great man and his predecessors have striven for. Once this principle is fully carried out in Russia itself, we shall with its assistance subdue the world. All the lower classes of western Europe are our natural allies'.

The rural organisation in Russia (except the Baltic, the former Polish, and a part of the lands of Russia Minor) we have already become acquainted with, in our discussion on the abolition of serfdom. We know that, of the portions of land belonging to a manor, usually only a definite part, generally a third, was appropriated to the lord, while the rest was assigned to the village community; we know, further, that the village-lands were not given to separate members of the community, but that they were periodically divided in equal portions among all the families in the district; and that this

division took place either by heads, or per *tyäglo* (by families). We also know that the emancipation-law of the 19th February 1861 changed this state of things only in so far, that the personal freedom of all serfs, whether peasants or belonging to the household, was acknowledged, and the communities were afforded the possibility, according to a legally fixed form (the details of which do not concern the question before us), of gaining the district as their own property, or holding it as a tenure at a moderate rate. In the chapter (III) on Russia under Alexander II., we have already seen that, *in the agricultural arrangements, in the relation of the individual member to the community, in the periodical re-allotments, in the mode of taxation, and in the division of the soil, &c., absolutely nothing was altered.*

The theory which the adherents of communism have formed respecting the economical, social, and political importance of this institution, rests on premises gained at the period of serfdom. Although it was easy enough to expect from the abolition of serfdom a lasting influence on the state of things which the undivided possession of the soil had occasioned, and although it may be regarded even now as certain that the cessation of the interest of the master in the weal and woe of the separate small proprietors made their material position heavier; it never occurred to the philo-Slav, nor to the democrats of Herzen's school, nor to Herr v. Haxthausen, after the 19th February 1861, to subject their ideas on the agrarian condition of Russia, ideas gained 20 years before, to a revision. This appears all the more inconceivable, as these parties were decided foes to the oppression of the peasant, strove with unwearied zeal for his emancipation, and expected this to be the means of raising communism to its true importance. So long as serfdom existed,

all the dark sides of the rural relations were placed to its account, without the power of evidence to the contrary: it was said of communism, that it existed only in an imperfect form; and, indeed, an estimate of this institution has only become possible since the unnatural circumstance of the absolute dependence of the many on the few has been abolished, the activity of the Russian peasant has been allowed free course, and the provisional state, as the system of serfdom must be regarded, has been exchanged for that which is definitive. In testing, therefore, the agricultural value of the 'new formula of civilisation', it is only requisite for us to watch narrowly the economical results of the abolition of Russian serfdom, and by them to form our judgment. This judgment, thus resting on established facts, will at once enable us to estimate the views and systems which the various parties of the adherents of communism, the conservative Baron von Haxthausen, the socialist Herzen and his school, and, lastly, Aksakov, Chomyäkov, Samarin, and Kireyevski) have linked with the equal right of every peasant to the soil. That all these parties more or less disregarded the question of political economy, and conducted their defence with moral, political, and religious arguments, can alter nothing in the matter; for, the question as to the influence which an agrarian organisation exercises on the productiveness of the soil, will always finally decide whether this organisation is tenable or untenable.

According to the last officially published Russ reports, more than $^5/_8$ of all the Russian peasant communities have entered into possession of their village-districts, while barely $^3/_8$ have remained dependent on the landed proprietors; and of these, the larger portion render compulsory service, and the smaller portion pay rent. It may consequently be said that the law of emancipation is substantially carried out. There

is no mention, however, of any rise in Russian agricultural productions; on the contrary, according to the concurrent testimony of *all* the organs of the Russian press, without distinction of political party views, agriculture has everywhere rather retrograded. It is true, the burdens which were formerly laid on the Russ peasant have disappeared: even where soccage is retained, the number of soccage-days have disproportionately diminished, and have long ceased to be oppressive: and yet, on all sides we hear complaints, that lords and peasants are with giant strides advancing towards impoverishment. Considerable as are the sacrifices which the Russ noble has made in the cause of peasant-freedom; they are not greater than those which the privileged members of other states must have made on the abolition of slavery; but while in every other country where there was personal property in the soil, the peasant, freed from his obligations to his master, felt himself impelled to make the most of his gain in time and physical ability in order to improve his land; the Russian peasant, inasmuch as he was excluded from the possibility of realising this gain in a corresponding manner, had become, not richer, but poorer. Whether he managed his farm rationnally and industriously, or idly and carelessly, his parcel of land belonged to him only for the current period; at the expiration of which it reverted to the community, and accident decided what portion he would have to cultivate during the next nine or twelve years. The free time which he had obtained by the omission of soccage might, it is true, have been expended on another pursuit; but, that this was only very exceptionally the case, lies in the nature of things; especially, when we consider the low state of culture in the peasant population of Russia. His piece of land, which could never more be taken from him, secured him, if no calamities occurred, from starvation; while it only mo-

derately claimed his labor. The possibility of preserving all the advantages of their former mode of life by mere half-labor, is in itself a strong inducement to indolence and laziness among the uncultivated; if we, moreover, consider, that the leading principle of the agrarian organisation of Russia was, the equal right, and complete equality of all members of the community, without distinction of their moral and physical qualities; that, positively, no advantages accrued to him who distinguished himself by his industry and intelligence; and that, indeed, he was scarcely afforded scope for the use of these talents; that the Russ peasant, if he were a farmer, could under no condition raise himself above the level of those who surround him; if we consider all this, we have before us an explanation of the fact that the moral and economical condition of the Russian peasantry has only deteriorated during the last six years, without the retrograde movement being counterbalanced by any certain prospect of future progress. So long as the members of the rural population are doomed to the Procustean bed of periodical division of the soil, and are cut off from the possibility of individual development; so long as the strongest impulse to human activity, self-love, is artificially kept under; there can be no thought of the advantages which, from the nature of the matter, seemed promised by the abolition of serfdom. The gain aimed at by the peasant, that, namely, of free time and greater liberty of action, has on the contrary contributed morally to degrade him; the days which he formerly spent in his master's fields are now passed in the beer-house. He knows, moreover, that his bankruptcy does not place *him* in embarrassment, but the community; and that his prosperity also is primarily appropriated by it. It is a natural consequence of the system which makes the existence of the individual

dependent on the changing and periodical re-allotment of the district that not the individual member, but only the whole community, is liable and responsible for the due rendering of the obligations resting on its members. The former lord of the manor, who demands interest on the earnest-money for which the district has been sold to the community; the proprietor, who has remained in possession of the lands of the community, and to whom the peasants have to pay rent according to contract, or to discharge it by service; and, lastly, the state, which demands various taxes; all these have no dealings with the individual petty proprietor, but solely with the entire community, on which it is collectively incumbent to be ready with the various contributions. If A is unable to pay, B, C, D, and the other members of the community become liable for him; for all the members of the community are responsible for the due discharge of all liabilities imposed on it (such as taxes, &c.); and the state, the wealthy creditor, does not enquire which members have performed their duties to the rest, and which not. This mutual responsibility, which makes the active, circumspect, and conscientious proprietor co-debtor and, indeed, security for his idle and dissolute neighbour, is sufficient to check all assiduity and all progress. Yet even this is less burdensome than the certainty of seeing the present possession, after the termination of the allotted period, again abandoned to the chance of a lottery. The petty possession of the peasant affords in itself less prospect of reward to labor than the system of private farms; if, indeed, the certainty is added that the amelioration of the soil will not benefit him who has expended on it the sweat of his brow, but, after the course of a few years, will profit his neighbour, the system becomes a curse, because it decrees, as its consequence, a subordinate and aimless existence.

A further evil, no less bitterly felt, results from the before-mentioned mode of distributing and dividing the soil. The portions which are assigned to one individual, are neither connected together, nor do they, in their whole amount, afford as much as the peasant requires for a reasonable farm. The village in which the members of a community reside forms, as it were, the central point of a circle, the radii of which are the long and narrow strips into which the land is divided. According to the principle that the value of each portion must be equal, the pieces assigned to each individual are generally scattered in five or ten different places, often lying far from each other: their cultivation demands, therefore, immense time and expenditure of strength; apart from the fact that it is impossible to place the various pieces forming the family portion in any relation with each other; corresponding with the various demands of agricultural life. Rotation of crops, and cultivation of many fields, are under such circumstances not to be thought of; and even where the degree of civilisation and the opulence of the peasants would have rendered these agricultural benefits possible in themselves, the continuance of barbarism and the old irrational mode of farming is, as it were, compulsory. The worst side of the matter, however, is this, that the system of parcelling the lands not only scantily supports the peasants, and deprives them of all stimulant to assiduity, but, at the same time, only scantily occupies them. It is true, the Russ peasant does not lack the possibility of gain, and the remunerative employment of his leisure hours; as compulsory service can be demanded only for about $^{3}/_{16}$ of all estates, and the idea of peasant-serfs is unknown, the greater number of Russ proprietors need hands for the cultivation of the lands left to them. But even the highest wages are not able to induce the peasants permanently to undertake the cultivation of

the lands of their lords; and the want of workmen has reached a degree of which we, in western Europe, can scarcely form an approximate idea. The natural inclinations and talents of the Russian lean rather to trade than to agriculture: if the peasant prevails on himself not to spend his leisure hours in drink, he prefers to roam thro' the country as a trader, rather than to cultivate the soil. The existing system has accustomed him to estimate agriculture at the lowest rate possible, and to prefer any other employment to this, his natural vocation; the idea that all effort expended on the soil brings no advantage to him, but to others, is so deeply rooted in him that it appears immovable. A sudden amount of greater freedom is always connected with danger for the uncultivated; if it occurs without being an increased incentive to exertion, it becomes a calamity. The obligation to work has ceased in Russia; the inducement to it is limited by the retention of the allotted portions; hence, almost without exception, little labor is done. The amount of the working power has remained the same; and yet, on the estates for which soccage is abolished, no hands are to be found for the cultivation of the fields of the proprietor. Added to this, the establishment of the brandy excise (the main revenue of the state), decreed a few years after the abolition of serfdom, and the free trade in brandy, have fearfully promoted drunkenness — that hereditary national vice of Russia.

We cannot resist quoting a few passages from a description, published in the year 1865, by the well known Katkov, in the weekly supplement to the Moscow journal, regarding the rural condition of Russia at that time, — a condition tolerable, compared with that of the present day. The suspicion of a tendency to pessimism, or to wilful distortion of facts, is excluded at once by the name of the editor, who is

the main champion of the national party, and an admirer of all that is Russian. 'I have spent this summer', writes a Russian nobleman to the journal mentioned, 'in a neighbourhood south-east of Moscow, which has been long well known to me, and with which my personal interests are connected. What is it which meets my eye everywhere? Universal depression and apathy, carelessness of life, indolence, drunkenness, and theft. All occurrences, great and small, either witnessed by myself or experienced by others, had their root and origin in one of the crimes whose hateful names I have just mentioned. Apathy is expressed in the cessation of all activity, in the extinction of all love of enterprise..... In consequence of the emancipation, most of the people were buoyed up with hope as to the advantage which free labor was to bring, and were organising farms, and procuring ploughs and machines. Much money was expended in this way, but the matter, somehow, would not properly work The low price of grain, the exorbitant rate of wages, and, above all, the impossibility of procuring free workmen at any price, made agriculture by day-laborers impossible. Soon the wages fell, and the prices of productions rose. But still, free labor remained unprofitable. And why? because of the prevailing dissoluteness and insubordination. No farmer can be certain that on the following morning his workmen may not be up and away, without having fed the horses and oxen, or heated the stoves; and may have gone indeed, not in consequence of a dispute, but because there is a holiday in the neighbouring village, and Vanka had said to Fedka, 'let us go comrade, a little brandy has been imported, you ought to go, and see'. The laborers' return after three or four days, but meanwhile the cattle have died, or, at any rate, necessary work has been neglected. All this is, as it were, a matter of course . . . . . There are two kinds of

proprietors with us, — those who have come forward in the redemption of their peasants (5/8 of the entire number), and those who have adhered to the former system of rendering work. The former sustained a heavy loss, not on account of the portion which they were obliged to sacrifice, but because there was nothing to be done with that which remained to them. As day-laborers do not answer, some rent their remnant at very low prices, and are compelled to allow it to be completely impoverished, as there is no thought of manuring; others work with half their powers, others again allow the arable land to become steppes, and use it as a cattle pasture, by which means, at any rate, the capital remains undiminished for future generations. Those who have not decided on redemption, form the second class; and these are comparatively in a far better position. The estates of this class are generally ploughed, sown, and reaped. It is true, in consequence of the decline in cattle-breeding, the cultivation here too is less than formerly; soccage, too, checks all progress; second-earing, with the horse-rake and numerous harrows, will here also long maintain its sway. That the condition of this class, however, is not very comfortable and stable may be gathered from the fact that many have recourse to redemption, in spite of its disadvantageous results. Strange contradiction! Redemption is disadvantageous to the proprietor, consequently we may suppose it brings gain to the peasant; and yet the peasants do not desire it. On the other hand, tenure by work brings gain to the proprietor; and, in spite of the disadvantages which it possesses for the peasant, the peasants cling to it. The explanation lies in the want of solidity that marks all our relations . . . . . and *in the organisation of our rural communities*'. Since the publication of this 'letter from the country', nearly three years have passed; — that the rural relations of Russia have,

in the meanwhile, improved, is, however, asserted by none. The letter before us certainly authenticates that a variety of reasons (and we consider it our duty not to pass over these) have contributed to depress the rural condition of Russia far below its former level; but, that communism is principally to blame has appeared most distinctly in the last few years, and, especially, on occasion of the fearful famine in the early part of the year 1868; and this has been attested by official and non-official authorities. The Northern Post, the official organ of the minister of the Interior, has expressly acknowledged that the organisation of the communities, based as it is on the principle of communism, and of the economical equality of all members of the community, is mainly to blame for the fact that the magazines of stores were almost everywhere emptied when recourse was had to them. It was decreed by a majority, how the stores existing should be expended, and on what scale they should be increased; but, as the majority in many communities consisted of dissolute and careless men, who were accustomed in all emergencies to rely on wealthy neighbours, the state, or the landed proprietor, it could not fail that the existing savings were squandered, and the prescribed yearly deposit lost a portion of the harvest proceeds. Every one felt himself simply a powerless member of the community, and had, therefore, no thought of individual responsibility; he had never learned to be careful of his own personal advantage, — how, then, should he be scrupulous with regard to that of the community? Hence it was, that the government officials, who, at the outbreak of the famine, were sent into the respective provinces, when they examined the state of the storehouses, found them in most cases empty.

The most acute and distinct verdict, respecting the

unsalutary influence of communism on the agricultural progress of the Russ peasant, and of Russ husbandry, occurred in a Russian pamphlet which appeared at the time of the famine, entitled 'Land and Freedom'. The author demonstrated that communism had been far more endurable in the time of serfdom than after its abolition; that this much-famed institution stood in direct connexion with the hated system of slavery; and that its duration for centuries was really only thus to be explained. He shewed that the division into parcels of land made it impossible so to organise the share allotted to each peasant, as would enable it to satisfy the requirements of a tolerably civilised being. Where the peasant was to derive his income from wood, and how he was to raise the proceeds of his live-stock, were questions to which communism could afford no answer; for the condition of the peasant, hitherto, had been rendered bearable by the fact that the master gave the wood to his serf, and — because he had a natural interest in not allowing his laborer to starve — helped him in all cases in which the peasant fell into difficulties owing to the narrowness of his territory, and the uncertainty as to what portion of land would be next assigned to him. The numberless and unremedied deficiencies in the existence of the peasant, which had arisen from the undivided share in the soil, were for the first time laid bare by the abolition of serfdom, and revealed the indisputable fact that the personal freedom of the peasant, and his dependence, in an agricultural point of view, on the community, who bound him hand and foot, were thoroughly incompatible. Nothing was left to the unconditional adherents of communism, if they had any sense of the rules of logic, but to return to serfdom!

Lively as was the opposition which these statements met with, they could not be refuted. There was but one

voice throughout the whole empire, with regard to the neglected and unpromising character of rural matters; still the number of those who knew the true source of the evil, was but small. Thus has it remained up to the present day. While sober and unbiassed observers have long been agreed; that no remedy is possible, so long as the law of communism continues in existence; that a comparison of the effects aimed at by the emancipation in Russia, with the results obtained in other states, under otherwise analogous circumstances, proves that every remodelling of agrarian affairs by means of the abolition of existing burdens, must be accompanied by the possibility of the agricultural advance of the emancipated; the few Russian voices which had the courage to express their doubt in the perfection of the system of common possession, were again brought to silence, and that entirely by the power of a party spirit which had gradually become public, which had at first swayed only certain classes of society, and had increased in influence during the emancipation question; but which had become indispensable to the government, by the services it had rendered at the time of the Polish insurrection, and which now asserts itself as the leading upholder of the principle of the state.

It can only increase the interest in the matter we are here treating of, if we exhibit the contrast in which these prevailing Russian opinions on the undivided share of the soil stand to the ideas entertained on the subject by the discoverer and scientific founder of this institution, Herr von Haxthausen: — ideas to which, in spite of the change in the times, he adhered with wonderful consistency. His last work published in the year 1869, entitled 'The Rural Condition of Russia' (438 pages 8vo), contains, besides a detailed and valuable statement of the law of emancipation of the 19th

February 1861, a collection of all the arguments which the author, twenty years before, had adduced in favor of the maintenance of communism. The baron has as little idea of the varying fates of his discovery as he has of the part which it has played in the schemes of Russian socialists and democrats; to him the law of communism is ever the neutral, misunderstood, and harmless thing of 1843. Herr von Haxthausen treats this really socialistic institution from a conservative point of view, and proceeds with it as if he alone had to decide how to comprehend and treat it.

All that he says of the present and future of communism, is in just as open contradiction to the state of things in Russia, as it is to the Russian views. To him communism is the surest defence against that very revolution, and that very socialism, which the philo-Slavs and the young Russians hope to effect thro' the aid of this institution. After having, in the introduction to his main deduction for the maintenance of the 'historical form' of the rural communities, divided all states into two classes, those in which the *rural* principle predominates, and those in which the *municipal* principle predominates, he openly confesses his belief that safety comes only from the level lands, the guardian of the conservative powers of the state; that everywhere the rural population forms the dam against the flood of revolutionary spirit; and that the trustworthiness and monarchical feeling of the standing army may be traced to the fact that it was formed for the most part of peasants' sons. The corner stone (he continues) of this blessed rural principle is everywhere the institution of communities, and among the rural constitutions hitherto known, the Russian occupies the first place. No other organisation is qualified, to an equal extent, to be the basis and the support of the whole structure of the state. The Russian rural constitution, based on the

law of the equal right of every peasant to the soil, and on periodical re-allotments, is the parent of all the moral and political excellencies and virtues of the Russian people; and as the greater part of this nation is under the blessing of this constitution, it is to be considered as a *peasant nation*, and to be preserved in the character of one. The peasantry, it is true, are less civilised than the population of cities; but, as all modern civilisation is not much to be esteemed, that is of little importance, and the relatively low grade of civilisation that marks the Russ people may be regarded as an advantage rather than as a disadvantage. Moral culture alone is commendable, and in respect to this, the Russ nation is inferior to none. The whole condition of the people in their fidelity to tradition necessitates a certain degree of culture; and this fidelity must not be shaken, until we are able to replace it by realities. This, however, is not possible at present. Every attack on the idea of the equal right of the whole nation to the soil, deeply rooted as it is in the belief of the people, and on that of the authority of the Tzar to divide these lands, is fatal. Western European culture, rife with moral evil, and hovering on the abyss of revolution, has no right to attack the national palladium of Russia, and to infuse its sickly matter into the healthy body of the Russian state and people. The principle of the division of the soil, which affords to every member of the community the possibility of seeing the welfare of his children secured, even in case of his own encumbrance with debt, is the strongest bulwark against movements synonymous with revolution. At the present time, and probably for a long future, any improvement in the rural economy of Russia is superfluous; the fertile land supports its sons, and it is even able to send the surplus to the markets of Europe, and is therefore freed

from all necessity to aim at greater productiveness. If half a century to come, the improvement of the agricultural doings of the Russ peasant is thought of, it is quite soon enough. But even this future improvement must be based on the former system.

The greater part of Haxthausen's arguments refute themselves. Neither have the agricultural arrangements and relations of Russia proved sufficient, nor has the moral condition of the Russian rural population been regarded by any one as satisfactory. The universal desire for schools, the conviction expressed on all sides that only a more general dissemination of education can help the Russ peasantry to a more thriving condition, and to moral and agricultural prosperity; that deficient insight into the value of the enjoyments of life, attainable by increased labor; and the absence of all higher interests, are the main causes for the immense increase of drunkenness. All these facts prove plainly that our author's theory of the sufficiency of the present moral culture of the Russian people, and of the superfluousness of culture as regards morality, can find just as few believers in Russia as in western Europe. As regards the doctrine of the conservative power of the rural institutions of Russia, the argument from facts and experience must be as superfluous as the theoretical. We need not enter into investigations, whether the '*rural* principle' stands indeed in the contrast to the *municipal* that is asserted to be necessary: even if we do not dispute the author's premises, we can point out the incorrectness of his conclusions and of their application to Russia. It is not true that the 'rural' principle based on communism is the only influential principle in Russia; nor that this state is as completely preserved from the evils of centralisation and bureaucracy, as the author considers desirable. It is true,

the greater part of the Russ people live on the level lands, and there is at present no *proletariat* (pauper class) in Russia, in the west-European meaning of the word: nevertheless, the Russian state is far more centralised than any western European country (even France not excepted), and all the blessings of autonomy, vaunted in states based on the rural principle, and of independence with regard to provincial centres, have yet to appear in Russia. At the present time the centre of political life in Russia lies in the cities, which are the seat of bureaucracy; and the rural population form a *rudis indigestaque moles*, the leaden weight of which checks all freer development of the life of the state. It is just the low stage of civilisation among the peasants which has until now made bureaucracy a necessity in Russia. Haxthausen's ideal of an organisation, converging in an independent aristocracy, cannot be realised in Russia; at any rate, not so long as the members of the rural population, forced into the Procrustean bed of the periodical reallotment of the soil, are shut out from all individual progress, and hence also from the possibility of forming the material for the construction of a true municipal and citizen life. So long as the inhabitants of the level lands form an undistinguishable and unorganissd mass, in which the dwellers in cities are merged, because, as such, they still remain peasants, there is no middle class to which the aristocracy can be united, and they are therefore assigned an isolated position, and thrown upon a bureaucratic career. If we further consider that the equal division of the soil is the leading principle with the masses, and individual property in the soil that with the aristocracy, it will appear very questionable whether a fellowship of interests is lastingly possible, and how long the two classes representing the 'rural principle' will be able to exist and to harmonise

together. So long as the dependence of the community and of their possessions checks the individual in the free development of his powers, and obliges him, as even Haxthausen acknowledges, to remain at the same low stage of agricultural and intellectual civilisation as his fellows, that isolation of the Russ aristocracy which is everywhere regarded as a calamity, and which excludes all participation in the interests of the other portions of the population, is inevitable; and the Russ democrats were theoretically right, when, after the abolition of serfdom, which bound the peasant to his master, they pointed out the abolition of the peerage as a logical consequence of the recognition of the principle of communism. The short history of the last lustrum has demonstrated that a blending of both principles, an aristocratic constitution based on the present system of the Russ communities, is impossible. Haxthausen's wishes for a local self-government under aristocratic direction were, and are to be, realised only under the condition of personal property.

The Russ law of communism has, moreover, not hitherto afforded a sufficient bulwark against the introduction of revolutionary ideas. The pauperism *(proletariat)* from which the western states of Europe suffer, is by no means the only ground of the revolutionary danger which alarms our author; the portionless condition of a part of the dwellers in the country, and of the lower orders of the population of the cities, is not the only form in which proletarianism exists. The dissemination of revolutionary ideas in all classes of the Russ nation was an officially acknowledged fact, no longer to be disputed; and the want of a middle class comprising those who are neither aristocrats nor peasants, is tolerably closely connected with the peculiarities of the Russian agrarian arrangement. One of the most accurate judges of

the modern condition of Russia, Schedo Ferroti,* demonstrates in his treatise upon 'Nihilism', the Russian form of that which Haxthausen calls the 'revolutionary idea', that the peculiar constitution of Russian society really excludes the introduction of conservative interests: the noble directs his attention to the bureaucratic or military career, and thus represents a variable element, which is but little interested in the maintenance of existing relations; the merchant and the artisan lead no independent existence, based upon traditionary rule, but endeavour likewise to assert their position in the bureaucracy, and to send their sons into its ranks; and the peasant is too little associated with the soil to stick to his clod, to expend all his powers on it, and to lay up for it. But that the want of personal property in this soil, and the certainty of being able to return to his native clod in case of unsuccessful labors in industrial and mercantile matters, are the true grounds of the unfettered condition of the peasants, is patent to any one who has seriously occupied himself with the question we are discussing. A limited subsistence is always secured to him as a peasant, and even with increased labor he cannot rise above it. Since the capital gained by trade and industry promises independent advantages, such as are not afforded by any efforts expended on his temporary possession, and since, in case his industrial undertakings fail, he can make an easy retreat to his native village, the Russian peasant never arrives at the development of his powers, and is no true husbandman. In a large part of the vast empire, Haxthausen's statements of the exclusive prevalence of the rural principle in Russia, and of the peasant nature of the nation, may be perhaps directly reversed; in the industrial pro-

* A book upon the equal division of the soil in Russia has recently appeared by the same author, entitled 'Le patrimoine du peuple', Berlin, 1868.

vinces in the interior of the empire, there are no genuine citizens, because there are no genuine peasants, and therefore, in this respect also, there can be no idea of the conservative character of the Russian peasant communities.

The hypothesis of the superfluousness of an increased productiveness of Russiawe think we may wholly pass over, because it is sufficiently contradicted by the financial condition of the kingdom. And even if this were not the case, Herr v. Haxthausen would still be wrong; for every condition that excludes increased exertion of strength, and deprives labor of the stimulant of higher advantages to be obtained, is fatal and untenable. The condition of limited comfort, and the low standard of physical and intellectual requirements to which the Russ peasant is confined, can only be maintained, since the abolition of serfdom, at the cost of morality; the freeman, who is satisfied that only the primary demands of life should be met, and who aspires to nothing higher, is at once degenerate, and needs no further process to become so.

If none of the arguments which Haxthausen brings forward in favor of communism can stand the test of even the most superficial criticism, those in its defence, set up by the philo-Slavs party, are still weaker. This fantastic faction has not even made the attempt to justify the old Russian agricultural system on grounds of national economy. The plea that Russia's immense extent renders all reasonable husbandry impossible, is supposed to be sufficient to set aside all arguments for the increased productiveness of Russian agriculture. The system which the Moscow Romanticists ground on the common division of the soil, starts from a moral and religious point of view. Western Europe (so they teach) is ruined by the principle of individualism and egoism, which underlies all its institutions; its life, political and social, denies the fundamental

doctrines of Christianity, and has thus passed sentence on itself. The life of the Russian state and society is, on the contrary, based, not on the principle of individualism, but on the idea of the community. The individual is identified with the community; their interests coincide; he has nothing to strive after for himself, but only for his fellows; for his existence is not isolated, but rests on its connexion with his colleagues. The Russian, therefore, requires not to seek 'his own'; there is no discrepancy between his interest and that of his neighbour; he is bound up so inseparably with his neighbour by the bond of a common life, that he cannot think of himself as an isolated subject. While the *bellum omnium contra omnes* is the natural consequence of the western form of society, and the politico-economical doctrines devised for the establishment and defence of this result have as their basis the egoism of the individual, and, accordingly, have arrived at finding natural an order of things which divides the human race into two deadly hostile classes, viz, the possessors and the possession-less, and which coldly looks on at the impoverishment of the one in favor of the other; — while this is the case in the west, the fundamental law of Russian society is *Christian love.* According to this law of love, no one is to strive for himself, no one is to pursue an advantage from which his neighbour is excluded; and the conditions on which the individual members of society enter into the battle of life, must be the same for all. All this is not only rendered possible, but it is alone to be obtained by the equal division of the soil, and by the complete surrender of individuality in the common life. No Russian comes into the world utterly portionless; none can, from the guilt of his parents, lose his natural claim to a portion of his native soil. As soon as he is of age, he enters into the circle of those who must be remembered in the next allot-

ment of the district; the claim to consideration in this respect is a heritage of which no power on earth can deprive his children. And this benefit is in no wise limited to the rural population; the inhabitants of the cities also share it; for, thanks to the healthy condition of Russian society, no difference exists between merchants, citizens, and peasants: all who do not belong to the nobles are sons of the fatherland, and are in truth only peasants. Whether they carry on their trade or vocation in the city, and have lived in it for generations, or whether they roam over the world as day-laborers or pedlars; — they regard the rural community from which they sprung as their true home, and they always retain the right to return to it. Hence, pauperism (*proletariat*), which in western Europe is regarded as a normal consequence of the individualism and egoism of the economic system, and which allows hundreds of thousands yearly to perish of starvation, is on the Russian soil impossible. The manufacturer, as well as the merchant and the artisan, is a peasant, who has removed for awhile to the town; and who, so soon as this career is unsuccessful, retains the right of returning to his community, and to the portion of land which they are compelled to assign to him. In this manner, the Christian ideal, which makes brotherly love and the equality of all believers a fundamental law, is in Russia actually realised. While the nations of the west, by the earthly wisdom and glorification of man to which they abandoned themselves, were led to the brink of the most fearful of all revolutions, the power of Eastern Christianity, preserved in all its original purity, has guarded Russia from that false wisdom, and has given to the humble, faithful, and much despised Slavonic race the fulfilment of that which was in vain struggled after in the West. The only one thing needful is, that this Christian principle of

Russian society should be carried out to the utmost. The noble must vanish from the Russian soil. Dazzled by the idols which were imported at the time of Peter the First, he has apostatised from the simplicity of his fathers, and from old and sacred customs. He advocates not only a heathenish and non-Russian civilisation, but, at the same time, the principles of personal possession of the soil, and therefore of individualism. For a hundred and fifty years he has held sway in league with the stranger, and he has persecuted and wounded all national peculiarity. The people, who have remained faithful to these sacred treasures, and, without knowing it themselves, have preserved, in their law of communism, the root and spirit of the true Slavonic system, were, for that very reason, despised and enslaved. Their freedom must be identical with the extirpation of the intruding element — of that element which is incompatible with the Christian character of the Russ and Slavic system: the nobility, who represent the non-Russian civilisation of western Europe, must disappear. When that has happened, and the original purity of Christian Slavonic life and being has been restored; then will Russia be in a position to enter on her historical mission, to tread under foot the heathenish West, that lives on the slavery of her portionless brethren, and, in the name of the revived and original spirit of Christianity, 'to break every bond.' (*Ps.* cxlvi. 7, *Ps.* lviii 6, lxi. 1.) 'There is current among our people' (says the concluding part of a hymn, on the 'Peasant Russia' of the future, published in 1862, and since then frequently reprinted and repeated), the legend of Ilyà of Murom, who, for three-and-thirty years lay inactive, but, at the same time, to the astonishment of all people, grew to a gigantic stature. The reproaches of his parents at his indolence were of no avail, nor their regrets at such a useless life. Ilyà lay inactive, ate, drank,

and slept, and pondered over a great thought, until the hour of his life struck. Then he rose; and the earth groaned under his tread'. *In this legend our nation has personified itself.* Russia, like Ilyà of Murom, has grown, and is ever growing, without thinking of anything, as it were, or doing anything. She has ever only stretched her limbs, and extended her boundaries, apparently preparing to display the activity of her life on a grander scope. Now (*i. e.* with the abolition of serfdom), the eventful moment of awaking has arrived; the three and thirty years of Ilyà of Murom are past. The 19th February 1861 has worthily inaugurated the second millenium of Russ political life, and has aroused the Slavonians from the banks of the Vistula to the remotest East'.

Near akin to this view, only free from the Christian and Byzantine coloring in which the philo-Slavs wrapped the 'new formula of civilisation', is the socialistic programme of the young Russian school of Alexander in the subject of Herzen. Here also the scruples of political economy as to an institution which paralyses all zeal for productiveness, and all desire of gain on the part of the individual, were set aside and ignored. 'The improvement of agriculture on the western system', Herzen says in one of the many papers which he has devoted to this subject, 'leaves the majority of the population, as is well known, without a piece of bread. The enrichment of individual agriculturists, and the artistic *(sic)* development of agriculture, afford no satisfactory compensation for the terrible condition of the starving *proletariat* (paupers)'. While the doctrine of the philo-Slavs traced communism back to Christianity, and imagined by its extension that they could, as it were, renew the early Christian system, the Russian socialists saw in it the most complete realisation of revolutionary ideas, and the

most suitable means for setting aside every remnant of the Teutonic-Roman middle ages, and the modern supremacy of capital. 'Since the beginning of the century', writes Kostomarov, in a paper on the subject (and none of the Petersburg or Moscow champions for the 'corner and foundation stone of Russian life' have produced more than newspaper articles on it), the western Europeans have begun to direct their attention to the true and fundamental evil of their condition. The former philosophical systems, which had for their object the organisation of the *state*, have shewn themselves to be wholly untenable; many have begun to perceive that not any of the possible organisations of the government system can lead to a good result, so long as *society* refuses to give up its obsolete ideas and institutions. They have begun to seek for a remedy in the re-organisation of society itself. As a result of these philosophical investigations, *new doctrines in political economy* have come to light. It is worthy of notice, at the same time, that one and the same idea (the socialistic, as is afterwards shewn) has appeared in different lands, thus furnishing an evidence of the urgent necessity of a complete remodelling of civil society in the western states. 'The new doctrines do not directly affect the state; it is indifferent to them whether the form of government is an unlimited or limited monarchy; whether it is republican or otherwise; the new doctrine has nothing to do with a change in the form of government, but in the forms of civil and agricultural life. The final result to which it must lead, is the *suppression* of *personal right* for the good of society, the annihilation of monopoly and pauperism... These new doctrines will possibly never be carried out to the last letter of their law in western Europe; but, without doubt, they will gradually change the existing state of things, and will considerably mitigate the present deeply-rooted evils, if

they do not completely remove them. What appears in the West, as we see, as the chance doctrine of the greatest thinkers; what is there regarded as the highest expression of philosophy to which Europe has arrived after centuries of convulsions and trials, *has in Russia ever lain enshrined in the character and in the ideas of the people. Our peasant communities are in their nature nothing else than the realisation of the idea which is now so earnestly struggled after in the West.*' The limitations which the author of this statement makes in favor of the indifference of socialism to the form of government, and of its independence of the constitution of the state, are essentially to be traced to the circumstance, that the paper from which we have borrowed these hypotheses was published in a Petersburg journal, under the yoke of the preventive censorship. Herzen and his direct adherents have repeatedly and expressly declared, that the revival of society must go hand in hand with a radical remodelling of the whole European state system. They conceived the future of Russia, and, in a wider perspective, that of Europe, as a republican federative state. A league of independent republics were to group round the great Panslavonian republic of the future, in which there was to be no sovereign, no noble, no clergy, no church, nor religion, and no personal property in the soil! And all this was to be effected by the victorious power of Russian peasant communities!

It is true, the days are long gone by in which Herzen's school swayed Russia and her public opinion. The partisanship of the London agitator in favor of the right of the Poles to legislate for themselves, was used with considerable skill by Katkov, the powerful editor of the Moscow journal, to put an end to his influence and authority, as a traitor to the national cause; and none of the concessions which Herzen and Bakunin subsequently made to the beneficent influence

of the Russian propaganda in Lithuania and Poland, were able to remove the ban that rested on them. But the doctrine of the providential mission of communism had, as we have before said, extended over vast circles of society, and had gained disciples and apostles even in remote provincial districts. By a wise renunciation of all political aims not according with the tendencies of the government; by repeated assurances that in absolute rule lay the best means for the destruction of the old state of society; the party had for some time been regarded as a loyal and patriotic body, indispensable as a bulwark against the constitutional desires of the nobles. It had labored ever since, uninterruptedly, for the one object of effecting a general and unlimited acknowledgment of the right of all to a share in the soil, and of russianising by its means the western provinces of the Empire. The rest — so thought the bold and fanatical men who stood at the head — the rest, time would prove!

Whatever we may think of the slender foundation on which these agitating systems rest, and of the systems themselves and their advocates, we, in western Europe, cannot persistently refuse our attention to the circumstance; because the boundary, within which this power is at work, is ever advancing further and further to the west. It does not in any way affect the matter itself that the arguments of Haxthausen, Aksakov, and Herzen, are not only easily refuted, and are repulsive to *all* healthy doctrines of political economy, but that they are in opposition even to each other. The part which they have played for some time in certain minds, and the practical conquests which they have produced in Lithuania, are, and remain facts. Scarcely any one in the present day could undertake to guarantee that Russian communism, and the ideas connected with it, will remain for all time on, yet outside, the borders of the

Teutonic and Romanic civilised world, and will never gain influence on western socialists. The latter years of our history have shewn plainly enough that socialism made its *greatest* conquests at the very time when it was pronounced dead, and has become a far more dangerous power since, than it was in the years 1848 and 1849. Its champions, in the present day, are no longer abstract philosophical theorists, who aim, above all, at realising the dreams of their closet, but members of the working classes, whose main care is, at any price, and with the help of any means, to assert the interests of their class. It is this very naturalness of modern socialism which places it before us as a duty to watch narrowly, before they stand at the door compelling our attention, those real powers which are advancing from the East, and which imagine they possess, in the accordance of their results with the demands of the lowest class, a title to world-wide supremacy. Russian communism must surely have this claim, to have, at least, as much of our consideration as the other socialist systems of our day. Whatever importance these may possess, owing to their careful elaboration and exact adaptation to the requirements of the working classes of western Europe, is richly counterbalanced by the fact, that the Russian institution under discussion is no mere system, but a widespread, and ever spreading thing which each man can tangibly grasp. This system has never made a secret of its aggressive and propagandist tendency; and though it may be asserted that its application to a state of things out of Russia is theoretically an impossibility, it is yet capable, and may be called on, in the next great contest between the two halves of our quarter of the world, to play a certain part in the minds of German socialists. That these should no longer remain in ignorance of the fact that in the

East a ready ally is at hand to help them, has recently been provided for by the Slavonians of Austria, Silesia, &c., who are residing among Germans: the worship of Russian ideas is already a favorite subject of the Austrian Slavonic, and especially the Tshechic press; and the Ruthènic agitation against the Galician Poles is closely connected with the Agrarian revolutions in the kingdom and in Lithuania, where the introduction of Russian agrarian system has been long in preparation. It appears as if that system were indeed called on to play an important part in the future, and we cannot conclude our considerations on the subject more suitably than with those words of augury, uttered by Count Cavour to a Russian diplomatist. 'The equal right you give your peasants to the soil is more dangerous to us westerns than all your armies'.

The Greek Orthodox Church of Russia and its Sects.

The events of the last twelve years of Russian life, above all, the abolition of serfdom by the government of Alexander II., gave a new impetus, for some time, to the hitherto somewhat relaxed interest of western Europe in the Russian state. When tidings were received of the great act of freedom which made millions of slaves, till then without any right or will of their order, free citizens of the state, it seemed as if the gulf that had separated eastern Europe from the West was bridged over, and Russia was drawn into the circle of western civilisation, and as open to the influences that swayed the other nations as to the love of investigation and the understanding of those who, in their cosmopolitan enthusiasm, were desirous of embracing with fraternal arms the civilised nation of the East, revelling in its new-born freedom. Then dawned the Polish and Lithuanian revolt, and the period of Muravyev and Kaufman: within a short while had occurred a succession of events which had been thought impossible after the 19th February 1861; and again the world was puzzled, and was obliged to confess that both the laws of the Russian people and their intellectual life were unintelligible to the western European.

It will probably be long before this state of things is altered; especially as the main part of that which, since 1856, has been known respecting Russia on this side the Vistula is to be traced to two equally untrustworthy authorities, namely, official reports and the statements of emigrants at variance with their country. We do not mean to assert that both these authorities invariably aim at deceiving the reader, or distorting existing facts: on the contrary, the official collections of materials which have *recently* been made respecting agricultural, agrarian, and other matters, and which have at least partially been published, may be praised in so far as they have mostly been prepared with impartiality and with laudable zeal for the establishment of the truth; and the records of various members of the Russian emigration party, such as the brothers Kelssyev, and Alexander Herzen *(Biloye i Dumi or Memoirs of a Russ)*, possess immeasurable value for those who are able to read them. Few, however, can surmount the difficulties which a work written by a Russian about Russia must present to German, English, or French readers; *they do not know the premises from which every book starts that is produced by a Russian mind.* To mention these premises in detail, to define in what the difference consists between official and actual Russia, between the original design of the various institutions of the state and their actual condition, what the connexion is between things and their names, where the boundary line lies between European and Asiatic Russia: all this is surrounded with difficulties, which hitherto none of all those who have attempted to write on the state of Russia and her people have been able completely to overcome.

Still worse is it with the statements of those who have come to Russia as strangers, and who endeavor to

convey the impressions they have received, without being acquainted with those '*premises*', or even knowing of their existence.

That this opinion is not exaggerated, not merely as regards the ordinary observer, whom the *auri sacra fames* has driven to Russia, but equally as regards people who are in no wise deficient in observation, love of knowledge, and rich cultivation, may be seen in a highly instructive and remarkable work on Russia which has appeared in German literature, — that of Baron August von *Haxthausen*, the author of the justly famous '*Studies*'. This book is instructive and useful only to the reader who is already acquainted with Russia; and this simply because the author was ignorant of that which we have comprised under the designation of 'the premises of Russian life'.

This deficiency is all the more to be felt and deplored, as Haxthausen was the first western critic who, with true instinct, was able to discover the two circumstances to which the fundamental difference between Russia and west-European national and civilised life is really to be traced: these are, the Byzantine Church together with its Sects, and the agrarian organisation based on the annihilation of individualism, or the equal right of all to a share in the soil — the so-called agrarian *Communism*. That the author of the *Studies* was imperfectly informed on many points regarding the main pillars of Russ nationality, and that his opinions were incorrect or, at any rate, extremely one-sided, in no wise affects the matter: his merit would have been great and lasting had he done nothing more than to discover those two main features of Russian life, and to recommend them to the attention of his contemporaries.

The following remarks treat of *one* of these two fundamental Russ peculiarities: — of the Russ Byzantine

church-system and its sects. The sources from which our material has been drawn are Russian publications, which have, by the most competent authorities, been reckoned among the best that has been written on the subject. The church predominant in Russia is depicted as it actually is, and as it influences Russian life: the dogmatic substance which is concealed under its forms remains untouched, because it has nothing to do with the reality. The delineation of the Russian sects is taken from the work of a Russian Divine; we lay the main stress, however, not on communications from this source, but on certain revelations which a Russ journal has recently made regarding the latest phases in the history of one of these mysterious communities. So far respecting our authorities. As for the rest, the following sketch of the ecclesiastical *status quo* in Russia must be left to speak for itself.

I.

The head of the Greek orthodox church of Russia has been, since the days of Peter the Great, the so-called most holy governing or directing Synod', an ecclesiastical, court in which the highest clergy in turn take part, but the decrees and decisions of which require the confirmation of the emperor, before they are pronounced valid. The whole Russian empire is divided into 24 *Eparchies*, episcopal districts or *dioceses*, each of which is presided over by an archbishop or bishop, by whom all the churches, monasteries, and clergy are governed; five of these eparchies, those of Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Vilna, and Siberia, are presided over, not by archbishops or bishops, but by ecclesiastical rulers of the highest rank, so-called Metropolitans. The whole clergy are divided into *three* classes: the *first*

consists of the monks (the so-called black or regular clergy, *tshornoye duchovenstvo)*, to which belong all the bishops and higher dignitaries, as well as most of the directors and teachers in religious seminaries; this class has the superintendence of the church almost exclusively in its hands, and forms the ruling authority. The *second* rank occupy the *white* or *secular* clergy *(beloye duchovenstvo)*, the members of which form a priveleged, hereditary class, but out of which retirement is allowed; to this body belong all village priests and the clergy of the town churches, who are in direct communication with the laity, and correspond to our own clergymen. Without forestalling further details, we will only mention that the investiture with the priesthood pre-supposes the completion of the course in an ecclesiastical seminary, and marriage with a virgin; if a priest loses his wife, then, as a second marriage is as much forbidden as celibacy, he must either become a monk, or resign his position as a clergyman. The *third*, likewise *hereditary* clerical order is formed by the tens of thousands of sacristans, clerks, singers, and deacons, consisting, for the most part, of students of theology, who have not been able to pass an examination. Every *eparchial* head is assisted in the administration of the diocese by a consistory formed of local ecclesiastics; all appointments, promotions, and dismissals, rest in the hand of the bishop, whose authority, as we shall presently see, is almost unlimited. His court is formed exclusively of monks, who everywhere constitute the aristocracy of the church, who alone take part in the administration of the church-property and of the ecclesiastical schools, and who keep the *white* clergy in a strict state of dependence.

Statistical records inform us that from 1841 to 1857, in all, 1569 women and 4147 men entered Russian monasteries. Of these 4147 monks, about $^1/_3$, or 1363, belonged to the

nobility, and only 33 to the bureaucracy, 750 to the citizen and merchant class, 580 were of peasant origin; and all the rest, $^2/_3$, or 2784, belonged by birth to the clergy. The disinclination of the higher and cultivated classes to enter the ecclesiastical profession is one of the most characteristic peculiarities of the Russian church; the noble Russians who during the last ten years became monks (and they are not few in number), have quitted Russia, and have passed over to the Roman Catholic church, for the most part to become Jesuits. The inclination of the lower classes, too, to enter monastic life is visibly on the decrease. It really never happens that a layman joins the ranks of the 'white' clergy, in order to become a pastor. Since the abolition of serfdom, and while it was in prospect, even peasants but rarely entered the monasteries, which they had hitherto been wont to frequent as a refuge from the oppression of their masters. The great authority which the schismatical or *old-faith* sects enjoyed among the lower classes, brought a comparatively rich contingent to their secret monastic societies; and the monasteries of the orthodox church would have been still more empty than already was the case, had not entrance to them been connected with the greatest temporal advantages, securing to those persons born in the ecclesiastical class the prospect of a brilliant career, and, at any rate, of a rich maintenance. The half, and recently almost three parts, of all Russian monks are born in clerical families: those sons of the secular clergy, or of sacristans, for instance, who were unable to pass any examination in the seminaries, or who were excluded from these institutions, when they could not obtain appointments as sacristans, seek refuge in the monastery, in order to escape compulsory entrance into the army. Unable to find a remunerative civil employment,

wholly incapable, in consequence of their education, of physical exertion, the numerous boys and youths who are yearly ejected from the religious seminaries, are, as it were, predestined to form the lower classes in monasteries. According to Russian law, no one who had not completed his seminary term might receive the tonsure before his 30th year, and he was limited to three years' novitiate. This law is constantly evaded in practice, and the term of novitiate is extended to twelve or fifteen years when former seminarists are in question. In every monastery, therefore, there is a body of young men who dream away their youth in idleness and mechanical fulfilment of the rules prescribed them, and who thus have lost, from the beginning, all moral earnestness and all really religious feeling. They are usually distributed among the monks, in order to assist them, until they shall have attained the lawful age; they ring the bell for prayer, they strengthen the choir in the church, and they divide their time between menial service and lazy idleness. As it is reckoned of importance to the monastery to retain as great a number as possible of such servants, and as it is regarded as a disgrace when the monastery is left by one of its inmates, the discipline, in general, is tolerably slack. These unemployed, idle youths, from whom the monastic body is in great measure recruited, form the gloomiest and darkest side of the whole institution. Deprived of all independence by a long novitiate, cut off from all elements of secular culture, and early accustomed to the semblance of action, the youths trained in monasteries are just those who are most rarely able to preserve the dignity of the ecclesiastical vocation, to bring forth fruit in any department of mental effort, or, by teaching, to gain influence over the laity. Monks, who have passed through this school, are regarded in the monasteries themselves as *patres minorum*

gentium, and are usually excluded from higher hierarchical positions.

Besides this *plebs* of the monasteries, there are those monks who have honorably terminated their seminary course, or have won a learned degree in the ecclesiastical college, and have then taken the tonsure; the élite, in fact, from which the hierarchy proper is recruited. As the monastic clergy occupy all higher offices, and have in their hands the actual rule of the church, and as every monastic brother stands above every secular ecclesiastic, religious zeal is usually linked with ambition; and it is this which impels the more talented and gifted pupils of the seminary and academies to take the vow. The directors and inspectors of these institutions are very solicitous to obtain the more assiduous pupils for the monastic profession, and to lead their thoughts away from the thankless career of the secular clergy: for the greater the number of young doctors and masters, obtained for the 'black clergy', by a religious college, the more certainly can the authorities of the institution reckon on reward and advancement. The middle class of the monastic clergy is formed, lastly, by former secular ecclesiastics who have been driven into the monastery by their widowhood, or as a punishment for some offence in their official capacity.

The influence of the monastic clergy mainly rested on the power of the monks over religious seminaries. The first religious colleges (to attend which, as we shall see presently, is not obligatory, but is usual on account of certain advantages allied with the obtaining of a learned degree) were established by Peter the Great: Alexander I. considerably increased their number, and scattered them over the whole empire. The monastic clergy, who saw this 'innovation' most reluctantly, regarded it as their duty to take possession of the new institutions when once they existed, and to

render them harmless. In spite of the fact that Alexander had decreed that secular ecclesiastics who had taken a learned degree should also be assigned a share in the direction of the colleges and seminaries, they were, in truth, excluded from them: in 150 years only two members of the 'white clergy' had held the office of Rector. As the archbishops are, at the same time, curators of the religious seminaries in their dioceses, this fact is easily explained. The means which lead to the attainment of this aim are numerous. Besides the right of appointing the eparchial consistory, the bond that knits together all the monastic clergy tends to the exclusion of the secular ecclesiastics. While the secular teacher or inspector is treated as a subordinate and is under strict control, only rarely receiving a gratuity, and happy when he receives his salary undiminished, the monastic inspector of the seminary is treated as a friend and brother by the bishop and other authorities, is promoted, cherished, and fostered; he may be sure that slight offences will pass unpunished, and, in the worst case, he will only meet with removal to another office.

The contrast and the hostility between the monks and secular clergy forms the characteristic peculiarity of the Russian church. The secular clergy, altho' the care of souls, properly so called, devolves on them, are regarded by the ruling monastic clergy as half laymen; as men whose interests are rooted far more in the lay world than in the church; as men who must be systematically kept in dependence and poverty, so that the church may preserve her peculiarity, independence, and separation, from the rest of the world. We shall return to the reasons of this hostile contrast, and will meanwhile only record the fact that the monastic clergy unceasingly aim at gaining all men of ability for themselves and their interests. Systematically,

the more distinguished seminarists and academicians are accustomed to the thought that they are destined for high purposes, and must therefore become monks. Even their errors are frequently passed over without reproof, in order to bring them more certainly into dependence on those appointed over them. Every academician who has gained the first learned degree is allowed the right of becoming a monk at 25, instead of at 30 years of age. From the moment in which he has assumed the tonsure, he enjoys privileges differing from those of his fellow-students: the monastic students have special apartments, better food, finer clothing, and the right to leave the institution on all holidays; it is, therefore, easily to be explained that a young man on whom the Rector has an eye rarely evades his fate. In order to hasten the period of decision for the monastic vocation, the academical authorities frequently are not ashamed to have false baptismal registers of the canditates brought forward, a proceeding which was tolerated 'semi-officially' not many years ago.

The whole number of the male members of the Russ monastic clergy (to which, as we have before mentioned, all the bishops and higher dignitaries belong) amounts to about 6000; many also of the 7000 monks of the famous Greek Athos monastery, which is for the most part supported by Russian means, are of Russ descent. The greater number of the Russian monasteries (there are between 300 and 400, for even the archiepiscopal and episcopal palaces have a monastic character) never attain to the complete number of the members for which they were established, but are satisfied with about three fourths of the due number of brothers; a circumstance which essentially tends to the prosperity of the monasteries, and has its explanation in the disinclination of the Russ character to contemplativeness and asceticism. 'The Russian' (so writes a Russian author

well acquainted with the matter) fears nothing so much as ennui; for he knows that he makes the worst stand against this foe. The broad sensual basis of the Russian temperament demands employment. if it is to keep its due balance; want of employment is with us identical with the preponderance of sensuality.'

Until the time of Peter the Great, the Greek orthodox church of Russia was in the possession of extensive lands; these were by the Tzar almost entirely declared state property, and were redeemed by a yearly payment from the Imperial treasury. The greater number of the Russ monasteries, therefore, enjoy, even at the present day, a pretty considerable support from the state; the extent of which is regulated by the class to which the monastery is assigned. The largest monasteries are supported with 5000 silver rubles annually, the smallest with the sum of 1500 rubles [one ruble = 3 shillings]. This revenue, however, appears extremely small compared with the whole amount of the sums which each monastery receives besides, and which, in the most famous and important monasteries, such as Sergiev-Troitskoy in Moscow, and Alexander-Nevski in St. Petersburg, amount to half a million of silver rubles yearly, and spring from a variety of sources. Not less than 307,850 silber rubles are divided annually, since the year 1861, among the different monasteries, as an indemnification for the withdrawal of monastic service. For, until the abolition of serfdom, the state was bound to provide for the service of the monasteries, which was done by levying a definite number (usually from 12 to 17) of crown peasants. If these peasants would not render the service imposed on them in *kind*, they were compelled to purchase remission for very considerable sums, — a duty which, since the proclamation of peasant freedom, has been undertaken by the state. Very considerable

also are the revenues from the mills, gardens, and fisheries, belonging to the monasteries; the principal item of revenue of the Russ monasteries, however, is derived from the public.

The ways in which this is done are so charateristic of the habits, peculiarities, and religious views of the different classes of the Russian people, that we must look more closely into them. As the secular clergy has the pastoral care of the lower classes, it is regarded as 'well bred' to have as little to do with them as possible, and to allow all spiritual offices which must from time to time be performed, such as baptisms, marriages, and burials, to be performed by monks, and, if possible, by prelates of rank. Whoever has become rich or noble must be buried in a cloister cemetery; for, according to popular opinion, these places possess the power of forwarding the tenants of their tombs most speedily into Paradise. The sums which are paid for monastery tombs are really fabulous; the St. Petersburg Nevsky monastery demands at least 1500 silver rubles for a single grave, under some circumstances double that sum; and in this manner it gains annually thousands of rubles. The Moscow monastery Sergiev-Troitskoye is regarded as still more noble and sacred. Of course, the burial fees are extra, and also the annual mass in remembrance of the deceased. If this is to be for ever, a certain amount in paper bearing interest is deposited; and the dividend on this is regularly, at the close of the year, drawn by the prior with an attestation respecting the due maintenance of the 'Mass in commemoration (panichida)'. Still more considerable is the income arising from the so-called 'Intercessions for the quick and the dead'. As soon as a monastery requires money, it sends out, by permission of the synod, a number of monks who, provided with 'register books', traverse the country. Whoever wishes for an intercession inserts his

name in the book, pays an amount corresponding with his property, and thus gains the right of having his name mentioned in the annual intercession. A few years ago, a monk of Athos collected in this manner, in three districts of the one province of Vyätka, the sum of 20,000 silver rubles, which he carried back to his home in half-imperials. At the time of the last coronation, no fewer than 800 such collectors had come to Moscow; — a fact which was remarked by the emperor with displeasure, and led to some restrictions. Every monastery also possesses the right of setting up boxes for offerings within a certain radius, and of appointing guardians of the same, who exhort the passers-by to give alms. It has recently been considered especially valuable to possess the privilege of having boxes at the railway stations. The Moscow Sergiev monastery, to which the Moscow and Petersburg railway is assigned, receives from the boxes alone which are placed along this line about 200,000 rubles; smaller sums, but still amounting to thousands, fall to the provincial monasteries. Lastly, every more important monastery is, at the same time, a place of pilgrimage, as soon as it can boast of the possession of a wonder-working picture of a saint; and these, during the last few years, have been almost all removed from the parish churches into the monasteries. Usually every pilgrim leaves a gift behind, or purchases a cross, or an image manufactured in the monastery; on the territories of the larger monasteries there are hotels, which are rented at high prices. The public who frequent these pious establishments consist principally of merchants residing in the capitals, who still enjoy no higher degree of culture than the peasants, and are famous both for their wealth and their superstition. Considerable profit is also derived, even outside the monastery walls, from the wonder-working pictures; for these,

from time to time, make journeys to the great cities, and, for liberal alms, condescend to visit even private houses. The custom, especially, is universal, for cities which have been visited by an epidemic to invite the miraculous pictures to make them a longer visit, and having them carried into the houses of the sick. According to official statements, during the last great cholera epidemic in Moscow, 27,000 silver rubles were gained by the visit of *one* sacred picture; a fact which does not appear incredible when we know that every visit is paid with at least 25 silver rubles.

Lastly, the Russ monasteries are in possession of three extraordinarily lucrative privileges. They alone have the right, on their own account, of baking the hallowed wafers, of making consecrated tapers, and of establishing churchyards within the city walls. While the incomes of the parish churches are subject to episcopal control, while all the tapers and wafers prepared by them are sold for the benefit of the religious seminaries, and sums exceeding the amount of 30 silver rubles require the sanction of the consistories, the monasteries account only for the expenditure of those sums which they receive direct from the state, and the produce of their manufacture comes into their own treasury. The sale of wafers, especially, is carried on to an immense extent; and it is well known that the wafer-making of the famous Cave-monastery at Kiev annually yields 50,000 silver rubles at the least.

While, under these circumstances, the wealth of monasteries has become proverbial in Russia, we need scarcely state that the luxury of the ecclesiastical buildings and the richness of their endowment is almost incredible. While, in some districts of the immense empire, there is a decided want of parish churches; there are monasteries which possess

within their walls no less than five churches, and numerous chapels besides.

Three different kinds of monasteries or cloisters may be distinguished in Russia: Episcopal palaces, cloisters sharing a common life *(coenobia)*, and those leading a separate life, or monasteries proper; a fourth kind, and one existing but rarely, is the so-called *penal* monastery or religious prison, guarded over and conducted by monks and used as a place of detention for vicious or criminal ecclesiastics, and for sectarians and such persons as have attempted to withdraw themselves or their children from the Greek orthodox church. The episcopal palaces are not, properly speaking, monasteries; but they are reckoned among the monasteries because they enjoy equal privileges, possess a domestic chapel of their own, are arranged according to monastic rule, and are inhabited by a number of monks who form the episcopal court. The bishops themselves are only partially subject to monastic rules, they live after the fashion of Catholic church-princes on a superior footing, and receive a considerable salary, which is increased by various emoluments. In the domestic chapel of the bishop or arch-bishop (the latter title is assigned by the government as a mark of distinction), there assembles usually a distinguished congregation, who are obliged to pay dearly for the privilege of having their sacred services administered by a high dignitary of the church. Besides this, it is usual that the larger parish churches of the eparchy, in succession, invite their supreme head to preach or to celebrate mass, and richly recompense him for his trouble. Lastly, in the episcopal palaces two spiritual articles of trade are prepared which secure to them a rich revenue: the household have the privilege of manufacturing incense and selling it on the bishop's account, and he himself is generally the author of

a catechism, which he orders to be introduced into the seminaries of his diocese.

Monasteries, sharing a common life, are those in which all the requirements of the monks and the management of the monastery are supplied from the treasury of the respective institutions; while in the monasteries where a separate life is led, care is taken only of the individual requirements of the inmates, and the surplus sums are divided among the monks, who apply them according to their inclination and necessity. It is readily conceivable that the latter mode is the more liked, and is constantly on the increase; especially, as no accounts are kept as to the expenditure of the monastery proceeds, and, therefore, no distinction is drawn between the expenditure for the benefit of the monastery and that for the benefit of the monks. From the wealth of most of the monasteries, the requirements of the monks are very richly attended to; as a rule, better than in Roman Catholic countries. Mendicant and barefooted friars are unknown ideas. The monastery authorities and higher officials are extraordinarily well provided for; every monastery generally possesses a villa, in which the monks, or at least their superiors, pass the summer. As we have before intimated, the degree of cultivation among the *'black'* ecclesiastics is extremely various. While the great mass of those who, after expulsion from the seminary, have gone into the monastery are ignorant; among the lay brothers who have obtained learned degrees, and who have entered the monastic life on account of their talents, there are true scholars and men of able, tho' perhaps narrow culture. Usually, however, these leave the monastery early, in order to become rectors and inspectors of colleges and seminaries, or colleagues and coadjutors of the eparchial authorities; and they do not return until, advanced in age, they become *Igumène*

(Abbots) or Archimandrites (superintendents of several monasteries). We shall, subsequently, have occasion to speak of the great influence which ecclesiastics of this kind exercise on church-jurisdiction and church-government. There is no idea, generally, of any influence of the monastic clergy on the communities, or on their culture; for contact with the 'world' is anxiously avoided by all those who aim at a higher career, and the remainder, from their own ignorance, are unable to exercise influence of any kind. Cloister-schools, after the fashion of the Roman Catholics, are found only in nunneries, and even there are very rare.

The contrast between the monastic and secular clergy in the oriental church is of very ancient date; for, as early as the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, there existed two parties opposed to each other: — an episcopal hierarchical party, and a more liberal diaconal one. The prohibition of the marriage of priests was issued for the first time in the year 314: exceptions were only allowed in favor of deacons; they were therefore limited to the lower offices. The introduction of oriental Christianity into Russia principally took place by means of Greek monks, who, at first, monopolised all authority, occupied all the higher offices, and admitted the Russ converts, at the most, to the diaconate. Whilst, in this way, the higher monastic clergy, from the beginning, represented a foreign element, viz., the Greek; the lower clergy, so to speak, represented the national element. Gradually, native Russians also succeeded in rising to the higher ecclesiastical offices, from which even the Greeks were, one after another, excluded; but it resulted, as a matter of course, that those who would share the tonsure accepted at the same time the Greek traditions, and imitated the foreign prelates in their haughty exclusiveness. Even at the present day, it is the monastic clergy

who represent the old Byzantine opinions, and, in conformity with these, will recognise no participation in church-rule on the part of the national secular clergy, or of the laity. The authority is to remain in the hand of those who are at the same time in full possession of the Byzantine traditions, who guard them from the infusion of national elements, and who form a state within the state. This contrast became more marked especially during the Russian middle ages, in the times of the Mongól yoke, and of the great church-schism. At the time of the Mongól inundation, the Russian people sank deeper and deeper in ignorance and superstition, and, with it, the national clergy, in consequence of the hard oppression of the barbarian conquerors; the monks and high ecclesiastics, who had migrated from Byzantium, were the only vehicles of a higher culture, and, as such, were the unlimited rulers in religious and intellectual matters. Whoever desired to share their power and their influence was obliged to subordinate himself to them, and to identify himself with their interests. Essentially Greek in origin were the various attempts at a church reformation, which aimed at the restoration of the old pure doctrines; when this, at length, was successful, a great part of the Russian people and of the lower clergy left the church, and formed the so-called *old-faith* sects, which breathed the national Russ aversion to the supremacy of elements originally foreign. The connexion of the Russ church with the Eastern is especially emphasised by the monastic clergy up to the present time; while the secular ecclesiastics, it is true, only instinctively and unconsciously, represent a national Russian starting point. The influence, too and the high consideration of the national Greek clergy and church, have been preserved up to the present time; and the monk of the Athos monastery, who treads Russian soil, is sure to play a part such as is not readily assigned to him at home.

In spite of the efforts which Peter the Great and many of his successors made to raise the influence of the lower clergy, and, with their help, to break the power of the high ecclesiastics, the former are still in complete subjection to the monastic hierarchy. How fundamentally different the position is which the two classes of the Russ clergy occupy, is especially apparent in the contrast of their material conditions. While the monasteries and monks are richly endowed, the greater part of the secular clergy live in a state of indigence, from which the priests in the large cities are alone exempted. The sources from which the secular clergy, distributed over 17,547 parishes, derive their incomes are of five different kinds:

I. Capital sums invested in the 4 per cents, belonging to various parish churches, and the interest of which is applied partly to the maintenance of the churches, and partly to that of the priests and sacristans. These endowments are of rare occurrence, and are so small in amount that they are regarded as exceptions, and, as such, do not come into consideration.

II. Proceeds from dead stock, such as town houses belonging to the parish churches; the whole value of these amounts to 674,000 rubles; but it is so unequally distributed over the 24 Eparchies of the empire, that some districts obtain 20,000 rubles, and others scarcely 1000. Distributed among about 190,000 ecclesiastics and sacristans, a yearly interest of 36,000 rubles appears very insignificant.

III. The salaries of the secular ecclesiastics are paid by the state; but they are very insignificant. The highest amount which a priest receives is 300; the smallest, 80 rubles annually; exceptions appear only in favor of priests belonging to embassies and residing abroad.

and of some favored cathedral clergy in the large cities.

IV. To every country parsonage is attached some small portion of glebe land, consisting of a garden and some fields, which are assigned partly to the priest, and partly to the sacristans; the small extent of this property, the cultivation of which, owing to the want of cheap laborers, is frequently left to the ecclesiastic himself, would place the priest and the sacristan on the same level as the poorer peasants, if they were limited to this source of income.

V. Emoluments for religious ministrations, consisting partly in natural products, and partly in money. They are often very considerable in large cities, but very insignificant in the country and in smaller places; and, from the degrading way in which they are levied, they greatly injure the consideration in which the ecclesiastic is held.

As we know, the aristocracy belong in great measure to the monastic communities, and the religious ministrations of these institutions are discharged by monks. The secular clergy of the large cities are still in possession of large and, on the whole, lucrative confessionals. As every Russian must yearly receive the communion, and officials and soldiers must even bring a certificate of confession to their superiors, ministrations of this kind produce considerable sums; while the priest pronounces absolution, the sacristan prepares the certificate, but it is only given on ready payment. In the country, these official acts, which are not much in use among the lower orders, and must be frequently compulsory, are exceedingly ill paid; and it requires all the energy of the sacristans and their wives to collect the amounts due, which are here reduced to copeycas. The principal re-

ceipts are at the annual circuit at Epiphany. On this day the ecclesiastic, at the head of his sacristans, singers, and assistants, passes from house to house, blesses the various families, and receives in return a gift of money, which ostensibly is dependent on the will of the person blessed, but is in truth regulated by custom. The degrading effect which these processions exercise has for years been the subject of constant complaints on the part of the liberal Russian press. In the villages, it frequently occurs that the inmates of a house take to flight on the approach of the priest in order to avoid spending their money, and are obliged to be brought back by force. Altho' it is forbidden by law that the wives and children of the priests and sacristans should take part in these processions, they are not unfrequently present, in order to receive gifts likewise, or to control the extent of the alms awarded to the fathers. In the cities, the priests may be seen in groups, passing in the full attire of their office from house to house, and knocking at the doors; by people of the higher classes, they are sometimes not directly received, but only by the servants in the ante-room; constantly they are sent away without having gained their object, or they are requested to spare themselves the trouble of blessing, and at once to take their gift and depart. It is certain that these annual processions form the main reason for the unfavorable social position of the secular clergy, and that they deprive them of all authority and respect among the higher classes. Nevertheless, they have, until now, been retained, as they form the principal source of income to the lower clergy, who could not possibly do without them. In Petersburg and Moscow, the city priest receives from 4000 to 5000 rubles of extra-payment; even the sacristan may reckon upon 1000 rubles; in the country, however, this sum is reduced to 150 or 200, while the sacristan has frequently no

more than 40 rubles, and is consequently reduced to beggary. In the small towns, the aspect of things is little better.

The unfavorable state of the temporal condition of the secular ecclesiastics, which may be imputed in great measure to the ill-will of the monastic clergy, has given cause for much complaint, because the clergy of the other confessions, which are merely tolerated in Russia, are far better paid than the servants of the ruling church. The Protestant clergy of the German and Swedish western provinces are in general so splendidly provided for, that there can be no idea of a comparison with them. But even in Russia itself, Lutheran and Catholic, nay, even Lama and Mohammedan clergy are not unfrequently better paid than the orthodox priests. Instead of multiplying instances of this, we will mention but two; in Siberia, 60 dessätinas of land are assigned to every *lama;* to the Greek priest or *pope*, only 55; and, while the Roman Catholic priests in the former Polish provinces of the west receive 290 rubles from the state, the Greek priest in the same receives only 169.

The organisation of the lower clergy is, in general, as follows. Every church in the country districts has a priest, a deacon, a sacristan, and various attendants and singers. All these persons are born in the ecclesiastical class, and, therefore, enjoy the right of exemption from taxes and freedom from military service; and they may send their sons into the religious institutions, which are at the same time boarding-schools. In order to become priests, they must have gone thro' the course of instruction, and have received No. I or No. II in their certificate of examination; the academy or college is attended only by youths who wish to obtain a learned degree, to become professors and teachers, or who desire to acquire a special claim to appointment in some grand cathe-

dral church. No. III excludes from the proper priestly office, and gives a right only to the diaconate, — a subordinate and badly paid position; those who have passed through no examination at all, or who have not finished their course, endeavour to become sacristans and singers, in order, in this way, to escape the necessity of either being compelled to enter the monastery as novices, or of losing all the privileges of the ecclesiastical profession, and being enrolled among the soldiers. Some of these succeed also in obtaining situations as clerks in consistorial or administrative offices. The ignorance and insubordination of this class of men, amounting to many thousands,* has become almost proverbial in Russia, and forms the leaden weight which draws the secular clergy into the dust, checking all freedom of action. Without being in any way advantageous to the church, they consume, on account of their immense and ever-increasing number, the greater part of its income; altho' the separate individuals live in want and poverty. Divine service and all religious ministrations are performed by the clergyman himself; while the sacristans merely play the part of assistants or, more correctly spoken, that of supernumeraries. Even the activity of the *pope* or priest, is essentially of a formal character, and is limited to the exact fulfilment of the prescribed ritual, according to which mass is said, and marriages, burials, baptisms, consecrations, and absolutions are all performed in the old-Slavonic (therefore called the church-) language, which is unintelligible to the lower classes. Sermons occur but rarely in the country and in small towns, and are by no means frequent even in larger places.

The management of external ecclesiastical matters, and

* The number of all the monastic and secular ecclesiastics, sacristans, singers, and their wives and children, amounted, according to a calculation made in 1861, to about 600,000 souls.

of church property, is in the hands of the clergyman in conjunction with a Starosta (or church-warden), chosen by the community, and under the superintendence of the consistory. Excepting the remuneration for religious ministrations, the receipts pass into the church treasury, from which building expences are defrayed, and the contributions for the support of the religious schools are paid. The manufacture of tapers, wafers, and incense; the money received from pilgrims, and from alms-boxes, payments for visiting the sacred pictures, &c., go neither to the priest, nor to the local church, but pass into the treasury of the church schools; while, as we know, the monasteries step directly into possession of all the wealth obtained in this manner. It is, moreover, a fact that the monasteries have acquired, and taken permanent possession of, every thing which exists in Russia in the shape of relics, and old or miraculous pictures of saints.

The main reason of the relatively low stage of culture, and unfavorable social position of the Russian secular clergy, is undoubtedly to be sought for in their poverty. Where the care for material existence occupies life, and impels to the most painful expedients for subsistence, any scientific and intellectual advance is out of the question; and the greater number of the priests, especially those on the level country lands, and in the small remote provincial towns, fall a victim to this sore depression of outward circumstances. Next to poverty, it is the insufficient number of the (otherwise recently improved) religious schools, the state of dependence on the higher clergy, and the caste-like seclusion of the clerical body, to which we must trace the great evils of the ecclesiastical condition of Russia. That a Russian ecclesiastic should marry out of his class was hitherto as impossible as that he should receive his education at a college or university. As all parish vacancies are without

exeption filled up by the bishop and the consistory, the candidate is completely dependent on the demands which they may make on him. We have already mentioned that persons of the secular class never enter the body of ‚white' or parish clergy: these are exclusively recruited from among themselves. With equal strictness, up to the most recent period, their marriages were controlled and regulated. No bishop suffered a young priest to marry out of his class; as a rule, he required that it should be a marriage within the eparchy, and it was strictly looked after that an upper clergyman (the head priest in a town church served by popes) should marry the daughter of a colleague, the country priest a daughter of the same, and the deacon a deacon's daughter, &c. No priest could hold office before he had entered into marriage with a virgin. Second marriage or marriage with a widow was alike strictly prohibited to the clergy. As the priestly office was thus linked with marriage, this was consequently the most important concern of life. At the same time, a quite peculiar sort of nepotism had hitherto been customary. A priest (or *pope*) who desired to retire connected his petition so to do with the request for the appointment of a successor nominated by himself; or he made it a condition that this successor should marry one of his daughters. In a similar manner, it was usual to have a vacant living superintended temporarily, until the daughters of the deceased priest were of age; and then the candidate for it was required to marry one of the priest's daughters. The ecclesiastical authorities adhered to this proceeding for a double reason: in the first place, they were thus freed from care for the widows and orphans of their servants; and in the second place, it rendered it possible for them to accustom the newly appointed priests from the first to strict dependence. The young ecclesiastic

who desired to enter into office had first of all to look about for a suitable heiress, and to make arrangements with her relatives; he pledged himself by contract either to give his mother-in-law a yearly portion of his income, or to pay a sum of acquittance, for which she undertook to procure him the appointment. The matter was so systematically carried on that the bishop's secretary constantly possessed a complete register of the marriageable daughters of the priests of the district; and this register was consulted on every appointment to a vacancy. The pernicious working of this evil custom is palpable; and it was even increased by the fact that the Russian women (except the aristocracy) were generally inferior to the men, as regards culture, and that every priest knew that his pastorship came to an end with the life of his wife. The dependence of the priests on their wives and relatives has, therefore, long been a favorite subject for Russian novels, and we need only to have read one of Blagoveshtshenski's tales to be initiated into all the details of the circumstances which have arisen from this system. Its effect on the young has been especially disadvantageous; for even during their life in the seminary they look out for heiresses in order to get into office as soon as possible; and in this way they not unfrequently neglect their own improvement. This state of things was so notorious and so wide-spread that it excited the attention of the government, and was repeatedly mentioned in the general reports which the head commissioner of the synod annually presented to the emperor. Under the double oppression of a life of poverty and galling family circumstances, the most able talents in the church were ruined; while the energetic characters, who would not submit to the constraint, and who endeavored to make their way by knowledge, and not by female influence, were continually quite

excluded, and were compelled to leave the ranks of the clergy, and to seek their fortune as teachers or state-officials.

For this reason, the law passed in the year 1867, which abolished the hereditary character of the livings, and expressly prohibited that a candidate should marry or maintain the family of his predecessor as a condition of his appointment, was one of the most important and advantageous measures which the present government has taken. Altho' from the nature of the matter, years may elapse before the beneficial results of this breach with the old nepotising system can operate on a large scale, and give a different color to the life of the secular clergy; yet an essential advance has been made in the fact that the old system is publicly condemned, and that the younger clergy, under the protection of an imperial decree, are afforded an opportunity of attacking the old custom.

The influence of the state on the orthodox church of Russia — an influence, to which the dull torpor and lifelessness of this church were formerly imputed, has recently been the mainspring of all the improvements which have been carried out in the religious life of Russia. If these improvements have as yet been only moderate, it arises from the fact that the formal supremacy of the emperor over the church actually necessitates a degree of consideration for the habits and wishes of its representatives, from which the state authority is free in all *those* lands in which the church occupies a position, legally independent of the state and of its representative, the sovereign. The emperor is responsible for every thing that proceeds from the ecclesiastical authorities; but the execution of his will is essentially limited by the co-operation of the high ecclesiastics, who, with more actual sovereignty, influence the mind and conduct of the lower clergy.

The head of the whole Greek orthodox church of Russia, ever since Peter the Great, in the year 1716, abolished the office of a 'Patriarch of Russia', is the 'holy governing synod', a spiritualy authority, consisting of twelve ecclesiastics, some of whom (such as, for instance, the metropolitans and the imperial confessor) enter the synod *ipso jure*, and belong to it for life; while others are merely summoned to it for a time. According to legal prescription, the Archbishops, the higher monastic authorities, and the heads of the secular clergy, *i. e.* the chaplains-general to the army and navy, enter this board in rotation. As, moreover, it is merely stated in the decree that all the eparchies in succession should be represented by their 'worthiest' members, while the choice of representatives is made by the bishops; it is a matter of course that monastic influence prevails, and that the members of the 'white clergy' play an extremely unimportant part. The metropolitans of the eparchies (of Moscow, Siberia, &c.) which are remote from Petersburg are naturally for the most part absent, and are only summoned for decision on important points. Seldom, therefore, are more than seven or eight members present, of which five at least are bishops or archimandrites (monastic authorities of highest rank). The decision of important questions is principally referred to the opinion of the Petersburg metropolitan, who is always present, and who acts as president, and to that of the imperial confessor. Besides these two prelates, the head commissioner, appointed directly by the emperor (at present the minister of education, Count *Tolstoy*), is an influential personage. According to an old decree of Peter the Great, this official, who represents the authority of the state over the church and its rulers, is to be a 'bold' man, and, if possible, in the military service. No decree can be put in force without his sanction; in all im-

portant cases, and whenever his opinion differs from that of the synod, he has to inform the emperor, and to procure his decision; the religious seminaries are under his immediate control, as likewise the managers of the church property, and the secretaries of the consistories. On principle, the state holds itself aloof, as much as possible, from all questions of a purely religious and dogmatic character.

From the immense mass of business which devolves on the synod and the chief commissioner, they require the assistance of an exceedingly numerous and purely bureaucratic staff of officials. The number of the papers issued from the office of the synod amounted, in the year 1860, to more than 11,000; the bulk of the protocol was 3000 sheets, and that of the session-journals 2998 sheets. As the synod only meets yearly for 180 days, and never sits for more than three hours, the influence of the officials who make the report is very considerable. All matters of routine, or so-called 'current matters', are prepared and decided in the office, and merely placed before the members for signature; while it is left to the director of this office to decide which matters are to be regarded as 'current', and which as extraordinary. The forms of proceeding are the same in all cases, *i. e.*, all decrees are entered in the journal, and signed as being passed by the synod; as, however, the resident members are constantly changing, the synod officials, in reality, have the power in their hand, and are free from all control. These officials, until recently, did not enjoy the best repute, as they were, for the most part, men of no education, and, frequently, upstarts from the clerical ranks; and the nobles consider it, even now, not 'befitting their station' to serve on a church board, and to be subordinate to ecclesiastics. This evil state of things is all the more felt because the immense mass of questions coming before the authorities for decision afforded too great

scope for the caprice of subordinate officials. The chief commissioner, who has a special staff of subordinate officials, thro' whose hands yearly 30,000 or 40,000 papers pass, is so overwhelmed with business that he is unable to enter into the details of the administration, and is obliged, to the great detriment of affairs, to consign those details to his subordinates.

Only *one* branch of business is directly managed by the members of the synod, and, indeed, by the monks; and that is, the censorship. In every eparchy, the bishop officiates thro' some monk, by him appointed as church-censor; all books and journals of a religious and theological purport must be submitted to him before they can be published. Over these officials the synod exercises, with a severity unexampled even in Russia, a surveillance, which consists in an upper censorship, as well as in furnishing them instructions, and deciding in difficult cases. The strictness of this religious censorship is only surpassed by the tardiness of its proceedings; cases have occurred in which an author has waited *ten* years for a decision. That, under such circumstances, every criticism of existing ecclesiastical arrangements, and all free scientific investigation, are rendered impossible, need scarcely be stated. It is a matter of principle that all ecclesiastical concerns should be concealed beneath the veil of secrecy, and that, especially, no layman should meddle with them. As even secular journals, otherwise exempt from the prohibitory censorship, are held bound to procure the permission of the eparchial or, as the case may be, synodic censor for the publication of articles of an ecclesiastical or theological purport, they either avoid, as far as possible, touching on church-questions, or else evade the legal prohibition, and run the risk of a complaint. The dispute respecting the deficiencies and evils

of religious institutions, which has not been wanting during the last few years in Russia, has, therefore (to the great damage of the cause), not been carried on by specific articles on the subject, and a thorough discussion of the separate questions, but mainly by occasional sallies, notes, invectives, and attacks. Far more effective and lasting, because more unsparing, have been the efforts of novellists, who have delighted in episodes from the life of the clergy, and delineations from the life of monasteries and seminaries, such as, with all their pungency and exaggeration, cannot be denied to be substantially true. The main scope, which, like a red thread, runs through it all, is the upholding of the secular clergy, whose liberation from the thraldom of monasticism is with one voice demanded.

Immediately subordinate to the synod, without, however, its collective, corporate organisation, but essentially dependent on the bishops, are the consistories. In every eparchy there exists a jurisdiction of this kind, consisting of seven clerical members (among whom two are monks), appointed by the local bishop. These jurisdictions form the court of first *instance* for affairs of ecclesiastical administration, for proceedings connected with discipline, divorce, and heresy. No decree is carried out before it has been confirmed by the bishop, and he is legally authorised, according to his judgment, to amend, alter, and reverse the resolutions and decisions; in such case the consistory has the right only of informing the synod of their difference of opinion; but these protestations have no power to suspend their execution. The part which the chief commissioner enacts in the synod is, in the consistory, held by the secretary. As he acts directly under the chief commissioner, and can make his own statements to him, he is the only official in the eparchy on whom the bishop is

dependent, and whom he has to fear. The resistless power of the consistorial secretaries is as well known as their corruptibility; no clergyman, whether he belong to the consistory or is merely a pastor, can escape the duty of paying yearly tribute to these 'scourges of the priests'; no lawsuit is decided, no petition brought forward, until the secretary has been paid, and his compliance gained. The officials are usually the sons of priests, who, having passed thro' the seminary course, have then entered an ecclesiastical court office; they are acquainted, in detail, with all the mysteries of ecclesiastical usages and abuses; and, from the intricacy and pedantry of the legislation in matters of spiritual administration and justice, they are placed in a position for extorting considerable sums. No one ventures to complain of them, for they possess influential allies in the synodical court, bribed by yearly presents. It may be regarded as an especial indication of modern progress that, at any rate, the consistories in Petersburg and Moscow have, within the last few years, been purified, from the abuses which still prevail in the interior of the empire. Better paid and more carefully watched over, and having more constant intercourse with the higher offices of administration, these courts are able to obtain a more independent position, and to effect the appointment of cultivated and conscientious secretaries and officials. In the remote provinces, where every thing depends on the personal character of the eparchial authorities, and the secular courts entertain a solemn dread of any conflict with the spiritual dignitaries, the '*Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine*' still retains its deplorable right.

Between the consistories and the priests there are, lastly, the *blago-tschinny*, *i. e.* provosts, or inspectors, who (like English archdeacons) are appointed by the bishop from among the secular parochial clergy, and who super-

intend the official and moral conduct of their brethren, exercise unlimited right of visitation, and occupy an unusually difficult position. The number of statements and proposals which they have to send in monthly to the consistory, and which relate to all branches of the official activity of their subordinates, is so great, and the arrangement of them is so complicated and difficult, that no provost who has not gained the goodwill both of the secretary and of the episcopal court can satisfy the claims made on him, and meet the requirements of the law. Accounts of money-disbursements over all the churches of the (*archdeaconry* or) provosts' district; certificates as to the moral conduct of the clergy, sacristans, and their families, statements of all births, baptisms, and marriages, &c., which the provost has constantly to send in according to the form prescribed, make him a kind of servant to the consistory and secretary, and compel him not unfrequently to oppress those under his jurisdiction, without being thereby able to gain anything himself.

In conclusion, one more institution must be mentioned, which is so characteristic of the dependence in which the secular clergy stand to their bishop, that it must not be passed over. The eparchial authorities, accompanied by a numerous train of clergy, annually make a tour or circuit through the eparchy or diocese, in order to inspect the pastors within its bounds. It is a matter of course that the appearance of the chief shepherd is on all sides regarded with fear and trembling. At the close of the inspection or visitation the bishop holds an examination of the local clergy *in the church*, and *before the assembled congregation*, beginning with an exhortation regarding due facility in reading the Slavonic or church language, and concluding with questions on the catechism, and on the doctrines of the

faith. The moral effect of this one act, which is constantly accompanied with reproofs, and with exhortations to greater industry, and is witnessed by the whole congregation, tends, commonly enough, to undermine all the authority of the priests as regards their educated parishioners.

The church educational establishments for the children of the clergy, the reform of which is now being zealously carried on by the Russian government, may be divided into three classes, — preparatory schools, seminaries or gymnasia, and academies or colleges; all which are exclusively conducted by the clergy (for the most part monks), and completely exclude pupils of any other class. The statute now in force regarding them dates from the year 1839. Until that time, the seminaries and their preparatory schools formed one undivided whole; and it was not until the year 1814 that the academies were separated. The preparatory schools are similar to our elementary and lower town schools; the seminaries are like the French *collèges*; the academies are theological colleges corresponding to the schools of divinity in Universities. How far they fall short of these may be gathered from a glance at the plan of instruction, which is thoroughly characteristic of the systemless and desultory smattering of everything *(polyhistory)*, which still besets the Russian mode of education. During his school and seminary years, the pupil is to pursue no less than 47 sciences. He studies 5 languages, — German, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, of course, without having fundamentally learned any one of them; he attends lectures, among branches of natural philosophy and mathematics, on arithmetic, algebra, geometry, physics, botany, physical geometry, *rural economy*, zoology, 'and popular medicine'; moreover, on Russian and universal history, on political geography, logic, metaphysics, psychology; on the history of philosophy, and on 26 branches

of theological science. His philosophical studies are pursued in a scholastic fashion, and through translations from works which have in Germany, these 100 years, been obsolete; for the Russian ecclesiastical philosophers are still adherents of Wolf's views, and thus deter their pupils from the first from all serious occupation with philosophical subjects. While, until the year 1839, the lower seminary classes aimed exclusively at the general education of the scholars, and limited the study of theology to the last course; this arrangement was changed in that year in such a manner, that, so to speak, they began with the end, and transferred theology at once into the lowest classes. Let us hear what a well-informed Russian newspaper, the Moscow journal, says on this subject, and on the reform of 1839. 'The course of theological science was enlarged by the addition of exegesis, canon law, homiletics, the study of the fathers, of liturgical formularies of worship, and catechising; while, at the same time, at the desire of the minister of crownlands, the time allotted to the natural sciences was extended in order to give the future clergyman an opportunity of setting the members of his congregation an example as an agriculturist. As regards the above-mentioned specialising of theological studies, the effect was, that several branches of the same were introduced into the lowest classes, and were lectured on before young persons who were only just occupied with the merest elements of a general education; thus, for instance, patristic subjects were lectured on in a class the pupils of which as yet knew nothing of church history, and the exegesis of the Old Testament was taught to boys of twelve years of age, who had learned neither Bible history nor the Hebrew language'.

Corresponding to the monastic character of these institutions, and to the aversion of their theological teachers to

all secular culture, the instruction in the profane sciences is, by the unanimous verdict of all competent judges, found still more imperfect than the theological; and the fact that the rectors usually set no value on 'secular' knowledge, at once checks the zeal both of pupil and teacher. The lecture exclusively follows manuals and pamphlets which have been approved by the synod, and which carefully avoid all collision betwixt knowledge and belief. The pupils are principally to learn by heart; any notion of developing the thinking faculty is hardly mentioned. Even the outward position of the non-monastic teachers of profane subjects, who, on account of their worldliness, are looked on with contempt, and held in tutelage by their superiors, is very difficult. Cut off from all intercourse with the outward world, limited to prescribed routine in the choice of their text books, surrounded always with monks, and regarded with suspicion as free-thinkers and worldlings, these men, among whom real scholars have recently been often found, are hindered in all free study and activity, and limited to the manual authorised by the synod. Their pecuniary position corresponds to that of the church clerks in the larger towns, *i. e.* they have 250—400 *s. rbls.* yearly. Constant examinations, which are mainly directed to externals, render any departure from the prescribed plan impossible. If any teacher wishes for the approval of his rector and for advancement, he must become a routine worker, and must renounce all higher striving for the really scientific education of his pupils. Usually, the more able of these teachers (they have gained their education free of cost in religious academies, and therefore they are obliged to 'serve out' a certain number of years) have only *one* desire, — namely, to be free of their engagement, so as either to enter into holy orders, or to become private tutors. The result of this state of things is a

constant change of the teachers employed: it can be statistically proved that the greater number of the teachers, not belonging to the monastic class, scarcely ever serve out the prescribed number of years, and anxiously seize the first opportunity that offers itself for undertaking another vocation. Recently the ranks of the secular seminary-teachers and academical professors were especially thinned by the newly appointed and well-paid excise superintendence, which seems to exercise an irresistible power of attraction. If the case is better, on the whole, with theological study, there is much here also that yet remains to be desired. How feeble is the stimulant to knowledge which the youth receives, is shewn most strikingly when we consider the comparatively small number of scholars who (unless obliged) frequent the academy, and the weakness of the literary productions on theological subjects. Since the year 1839, about 5000 graduated theologians have passed from the academies; the number of theological works that have appeared during the same period is reduced to a dozen and a half, and the composition of a theological paper for a journal is regarded as an especial merit. Young people who have finished the lower seminary course, and are to enter the so-called rhetorical class, cannot sometimes even write orthographically; and it very frequently occurs that pupils who have passed through the academy, and do not wish to enter the priesthood, but to go to the university, cannot get through the examination required of all who enter the Russian universities. Even the knowledge of the Russian language is sometimes at a low ebb; for a part of the branches of theology are lectured on in the dead Slavonic church-tongue, which has remained the same for centuries; and scarcely anything is done for the cultivation of eloquence. The main reason, however, of all these deficiencies in Russ religious institutions, lies in their

isolation from the world, in their alienation from actual life and the spirit of the age. The pupils are not only kept imprisoned within the narrow walls of the seminary and academy, and anxiously guarded from all contact with the world, and are thus early accustomed to a caste-like seclusion and self-sufficiency; but it is even rendered impossible for them to follow the course of literature and the events of the time. In every seminary there is a library, for which 100 *s. rbls.* annually are expended; this sum, already insufficient in itself, is, most unpractically, for the most part applied to theological writings. The classic authors of Russian literature are banished from most of the seminaries, or exclusively assigned for the use of teachers; journals and papers are permitted only in the academies; and even in these, only under certain restrictions. It recently occurred that some seminarists set on foot subscriptions among themselves, in order, at least, to procure a paper — a peremptory prohibition, however, of the Rector put an end to this effort of theirs towards civilisation. Even Schlosser's Universal History, which has been repeatedly translated into Russian, is esteemed as 'Godless', and has been placed on the *index prohibitorum:* novel reading is still punished by exclusion from the institution; and the frequenting of the public libraries, which, since the last ten years, have shot up like mushrooms throughout Russia, is visited, in many places, with strict incarceration. As regards intercourse with persons living outside the institution, it is only exceptionally allowed: 'Visits to the clergy are promoted, intercourse with people of the lower classes is tolerated as harmless; but association with cultivated men of the world is watched with suspicion, and distrustfully restricted'. Dancing, singing (with the exception of liturgical hymns), the drama, and gymnastic exercises (the latter of which are

especially desired and promoted by the government) are forbidden.

We should, nevertheless, completely err, if we were to suppose that the Russian seminaries and academies were unaffected by the spirit of the age, and had remained quiet nurseries of monastic narrowness. The immense convulsion that has agitated the national mind of Russia during the last few years, has penetrated nowhere more deeply and effectively than into these institutions. The more strictly the spiritual authorities watched that the youths entrusted to them should know nothing of the outer world, and should remain cut off from the literary and political events of the time, all the more passionately did these same youths follow the current of the liberal, or more correctly said, revolutionary movement. As all secular reading, every, even the most harmless newspaper was prohibited, and the youthful scholars were to receive no other mental food than scholastic manuals in bad translations — for Schlosser and Puschkin, Rottek and Karamzin, were subject to the same interdict — the longing desire of the more ardent youths for tidings of the great things which were accomplished in actual life, and which ruled the heads and hearts of all during the years of reform, was kindled to a passion; and every means which led to the attainment of this object was regarded as admissible. As they might not read the Moscow journal, or the 'Russian Messenger', '*Kuno Fischer*' (who was above all strictly prohibited), or *Bielinski*, the Russian Lessing; they read Herzen's 'Glocke', and bad translations of the German materialists and French communists, which were secretly disseminated in numerous copies, that passed from one generation of scholars to another like sacred relics, and were devoured with craving appetite. The confusion which this revolutionary and athe-

istic literature must have produced in many minds which, tho' crammed with theological trash, were devoid of all real cultivation, may be readily guessed: with faith in the absolute authority, in whose service they had hitherto been held, vanished at once in the immature youths, who suddenly found themselves plunged into the turmoil of a new and scarcely imagined world, alike faith in, or hope of, all the ideal blessings of life, and the reverence for every kind of authority or custom; the most extravagant views rapidly prevailed; nor is it to be wondered at that, some years ago, it could be asserted in the Russian press, that the most dangerous forms of Russian socialism, and of those radically revolutionary opinions which the official Petersburg journalist designates by the term 'nihilism', were to be found in the seminaries and academies of the 'orthodox' church. It is a fact that not a small number of the revolutionary authors and journalists of the new Russian era were former pupils of these institutions, and that the revolutionary incendiary literature which had been for years going on, and, on the occasion of the May conflagration of the year 1862, and of Karakosovs attempt on the 16/4th April 1866, was brought to light, had caused great mischief in these clerical schools especially. The author of the revolutionary proclamations, which were circulated in St. Petersburg, in 1862, was a student of the St. Petersburg clerical academy, a Lettish convert of 1846, named *Ballohd:* the editor of the recently prohibited socialists journal, the 'Contemporary' *(Sovremennick)*, was the former academy-student *Pipin;* Herzen's colleagues, the brothers *Kelsev*, the unfortunate socialist *Pomyalovski*, and numerous authors and agitators of a similar kind, had received their training in the same institution, and from their own confession had studied, almost as boys, the writings of Hobbes, Vogt, Fourier, and, above all,

Herzen; and had found in these authors that mental stimulant which they had in vain sought for in the dogmatic writings of *Petrus Mogilas* and other fathers of the church.

In no other department of public life has the zeal of the present Russian government for reform displayed so much good-will and pure endeavor as in the ecclesiastical but nowhere has it met with greater difficulties. In the year 1869, a new course of study was published for the clerical schools and academies, which removes the greater part of the former evils, or rather is to remove them; for, some years must elapse before it is effectually carried out, and the prevailing state of things is altered. If the abolition of serfdom is really to bear the fruits which were held out when the Russ noble was required to make the immense sacrifice which he has actually made since 1861, it was indispensably necessary that, by the dissemination of a higher degree of national culture, a guarantee should be procured against the abuse of the freedom given to the peasant. The vehicle and the instrument of effecting this progressive culture could, under the circumstances, be the clergy alone; and that, the whole of the clergy, and not the secular clergy only. Altho' the latter only are in immediate communication with the people, yet the dependence of the secular clergy on monastic aristocracy requires that the position occupied by monachism towards the national culture should be truly influential. The government can always depend on the good will of the secular clergy when any reformatory measure is to be carried out; for the lower clergy feel themselves bound up with the people, and they know very well that the promotion of their interests can emanate alone from them and from the state; that by compliance with their wishes they can only gain and never lose; while monachism has the natural tendency to stand forth as an independent power, and to keep

its army, the *'white'* clergy, in strict dependence and subserviency. By their rule however over the establishments for clerical education, by their wealth, and the high consideration which they enjoy with the lower classes, the *'black'* clergy have acquired such a sovereign position, that they are feared far more by the lower clergy than the authority of the state; and that the individual secular priest, when forced to choose between the alternative of disobedience to his bishop, or to a secular dignitary (in spite of his natural sympathy with the state, which must appear to him more humane and more liberal in its character), decides, in most cases, on the latter.

For these reasons, if the government would, as it desires, make the church the vehicle of culture, and by it free the people; every thing depends on limiting the influence of the monastic over the secular clergy: yet we know only too well, that the 'black clergy' would not voluntarily join the new liberal opinions, as they have long recognised in them the most dangerous foe to their own exceptional position. The government, if it would free the secular clergy from their condition of dependence, and make them the teachers of the people, must above all things carry out two important reforms; namely, the remodelling of the clerical seminaries, and, especially, the improvement of the material condition of the country priests. With the accomplishment of these plans, which are earnestly contested by the higher church authorities, the government is at present eagerly engaged. As regards school reform, the work has been partially effected; but a thorough improvement in parochial matters has, on the contrary, not yet taken place; altho', for some years, measures have been taken for this end by provincial committees established in all parts of the empire. Even at the present time the power of the monastic autho-

rities is so dominant that the contest must be called an unequal one, tho' the government has on its side the cultivated part of the nation, and tho' the Russian press, for instance, on the occasion of the remodelling of the clerical seminaries, has had rich opportunity to express itself on the matter, and has testified its complete adherence to the efforts of the government. Among the influential organs of the Moscow and Petersburg press, there prevails in this respect the most perfect harmony; indeed, the national journals go even farther than the government ones, demanding not only a diminution of the influence of the monastic, and the improvement of the material and social condition of the secular clergy, but a complete pulling down of the barriers which separate the clergy and the church servants from the other citizens of the state, and make them an ostensibly privileged, but, in truth, only an isolated class. As far as possible, they would do away with the numerous servants of the church, and restore them to the people; they would extend the clerical schools and seminaries into grammar-schools and gymnasiums, open to all classes; they would make the academies or clerical colleges into theological departments of the universities; they would free the whole range of church instruction from the fetters of the 'holy' governing Synod, andwould render it subordinate to the ministry of national education, — in a word, they would remove all obstacles to progress, and would bring about a radical remodelling of church matters and ecclesiastical institutions.

The reasons why these desires have hitherto remained unfulfilled, are as numerous as they are complicated; the predominant position of the higher clergy, consecrated as it is by the tradition of ages, and the consideration which they enjoy among the lower orders, are not the only, nor the chief hindrances which stand in the way of the reformatory

views with which the government is occupied, and in which it is supported unanimously by the cultivated classes. The main difficulty lies in the bias which marks the mind of the Russian people generally, and which, emanating as it does from exaggerated national self-estimation and exclusiveness, ever stands in the way of its own need of reform. Since the fanatical effort to bring the Greek 'orthodox' church into predominance, even in Catholic Lithuania and Poland, as well as in the Protestant Baltic provinces, and to annihilate all other confessions and communions existing in those countries, prevailed over all other tendencies and efforts of the national Russ democracy,, the reformatory zeal and critical severity exercised till then by the Moscow and Petersburg journalists towards their own church has considerably decreased. Propagandist faith, fanaticism, and sober criticism of existing ecclesiastical institutions are contrasts not possible to be combined; and the fear of furnishing their Protestant and Catholic adversaries with weapons of defence has prevented the leading Moscow journals from taking with their former energy the part of the government struggling on behalf of ecclesiastical reform at home.

That the Russ goverment has for years aimed at pouring 'new wine' into the 'old bottles' of the Byzantine Russian church, has other and even weightier grounds than those above-mentioned. The increasing extension and animosity of the sects of the old faith, amounting as they do to millions of members, has for almost two centuries been a matter of anxiety to all far-seeing Russian statesmen. It was known too well that the danger of these sects essentially arises from the fact that the orthodox clergy, on intelligent religious grounds, could offer them absolutely no resistance, owing to their own blindness to the deficiencies of their own ecclesi-

astical institutions. Added to this, the fanaticism of the influential clergy not only hindered the government from disarming the sectaries by gentleness and politic humanity of treatment, but compelled it, 'in honor of orthodoxy', rather to bring forward persecutions for heresy which have only made the existing evil still worse. But, before we pass to this important chapter, it will be needful to become better acquainted with Russian sectarianism itself, both as regards its origin and development.

II.

The great Russian church-schism, to which the *old faith* sects of the Oriental church owe their origin, dates back to the 17th century. It was caused by the patriarch *Nicon*, the head of the Greek orthodox church in Russia at the time of the Tzar Alexei Michaëlowitch, the second Romanov, who, in the year 1657, with the help of all the higher clergy, carried out a revision of the mass books and rituals till then in use. These writings, which for centuries had swarmed with the errors and corruptions of ignorant copyists, had already substantially altered the old doctrines of the Greek church. Nevertheless, they were adhered to by the people and lower clergy with eager tenacity. When Nicon, who had on his side the preponderating majority of the ecclesiastical dignitaries and the authority of the state, effected, in spite of the hindrances that opposed him, the revision of the rituals, a great part of the people, with Bishop Paulus of Kolomna and five other high ecclesiastics at their head, declared that they would hold fast by the old forms. After all attempts at an understanding had failed, a council, convened in the year 1666, declared the adherents of the old rites founded on erroneous doctrines, to be heretics, and

formally excluded them from the communion of the church. Two years later, in the north, on the shores of the White sea, an armed sectarian insurrection broke out in the fortified monastery Solowetzk against the Tzar and the ruling church, and terminated, after the monastery had sustained a siege of seven years, in the fearful punishment of the rebels. A second sectarian revolt broke out under the regency of the Tzarevna Sophia, during the minority of Peter the Great; and this was all the more dangerous, as it was joined by the greater part of the Strelitzen regiments under Prince Khowansky. It was only from the Tzarevna's politic liberality in giving up her beer and brandy cellar to the Strelitzen that they were brought back to obedience, and afterwards took a zealous part in the annihilation of their former allies. These events had already to a great degree embittered the division between the church of the state and the whole body of the *old-faith* sects. But a still more essential influence on the position and importance of the Russian *old-faith* (or *soi-disant* orthodox) sects was exercised by the reform so zealously and vigorously carried out, in the west-European sense, by Peter the Great. The Russ national feeling, which was wounded by this reforming zeal, made common cause with those sects which represented peculiarities of the old Russian character. The European customs and usages which Peter was the first to force on his court and his nobles were the subject of religious as well as national antipathies; smoking and beard shaving, European attire, and the use of tea, were formally interdicted, and were condemned as services rendered to Antichrist.

The points of difference which brought about the Russian church-schism in the 17th century are, considered from a western European standard, of an extraordinarily subordinate and purely external nature. They consist in

various modes of making the cross, in different manners of pronouncing the name of Jesus, in various forms of the host or wafer, in differences with regard to the number of repetitions of the word *amen*, and Hallelujah! during mass &c. Externals of this kind could only be of weight to a people who knew but little of the inner moral importance of religious life, and to whom outward forms of worship were everything. As the religous needs of the people required sustenance and found none, they clung eagerly to the ritualistic forms, which were to compensate for the emptiness of the religious teaching. From the period of the introduction of Christianity into Russia, this country had been the scene of Greek heresies, and the asylum of exiled Greek monks and priests, whose ignorance had been regarded as profound wisdom among the barbarous Slavonians. In all probability, in the earliest times gnostic influence had made its way into Russia, but it had never arrived at any importance until its first beginnings were no longer to be pointed out. Superstition was here carried into a formal system, non-essentials and externals gained proportionate importance, and the fundamental decisions of the church were set on the same level with the subjective views of individual subordinate teachers. Even before the oriental Greek church-polity imported into Russia had begun to take any deeper root there, and to bear any fruit or blossom of a national culture, the Mongols invaded the country, and, for 200 years, checked all civilisation. From decade to decade the civilising influence of Byzantium and its church declined, until, after the conquest of the Eastern metropolis by the Turks, it completely ceased. Russia and her church were now left to themselves. Uneducated priests, who fed on the crumbs of half intelligible Byzantine wisdom, were to be the mental lights of a nation which, owing to the despotic

oppression of its wild conquerors, had sunk equally low materially and intellectually. The work, in the execution of which Byzantine culture had been interrupted, held out but for a short period. In the XVth century, there were still schools in Russia; in the XVIth they no longer existed: only exceptionally was a priest still acquainted with reading and writing, and of theological study there was scarcely any thought. We can hardly form a conception of the religious ignorance which, under such circumstances, must make its way in all classes of society. The recently discovered art of printing was not yet in use; ignorant copyists interpolated Byzantine mass books and rituals with the promptings of a wild imagination, which vented itself also in tracts, published under the name of famous fathers of the church. In the year 1506, a Greek monk named Maximus, who had been summoned to Moscow, vainly attempted to restrain the superstitious errors which were in full swing. His blind zeal, and his unacquaintance with Russ nationality, only aggravated the existing evil, strengthened the mistrust of the people against every thing foreign, and, especially, the authority of the clergy, who were sunk in the deepest ignorance and superstition. If the patriarch Nicon, as we before mentioned, succeeded, in the latter half of the XVIIth century, in effecting a partial reform, yet could he not lay his hand to the roots which superstition had so deeply spread throughout the Russian national life.

While the court, the clergy, the nobility, and the greater part of the people had joined the party for reform, the lower classes of whole extensive eparchies remained stanch to the old ritual. At their head were some fanatics, who belonged to the clergy, and occasionally also to the higher nobility, and by whom the masses allowed themselves to be blindly led. The bloody persecution, which had already

broken out a few years after the church schism, only increased the consideration of the adherents to what they called the old faith, who began to seek martyrdom with enthusiastic eagerness. Excluded from the elevating influence of religious and secular education, the schismatics shut themselves up more and more narrowly against the outer world. Every thing that they thought and did was done apart from the influence of the upper classes, who stood comparatively on a higher platform, and in conscious hostility to all that could be called cultivation and that came from without. In the eyes of the common man it was the main excellence of the 'followers of the old faith' that they were purely national, purely rustic and plebeian, and implicit believers in the fullest sense of the word.

The mutual influence acting on the adherents of the state church and those of the old ritual assumed a new phase since the beginning of Peter's reforms. It is scarcely possible to form an idea at the present day of the tremendous and shattering influence of those reforms on Russian national life. The link with the past was violently broken through in almost all branches of life; amid the beating of drums the Tzar proclaimed that the year was no longer to be reckoned from September 1, but, as in western Europe, from January 1; the creation of the world was no longer to be the starting point for the computation of time, but the birth of Christ; an independent patriarch was no longer to be at the head of the orthodox church, but religious supremacy was to be assigned to the Tzar. Catholic and Protestant adventurers came in crowds to Russia; people who not only shaved their beards and smoked tobacco, but who forced these customs on the children of the land; the Tzar himself wore garments cut after the foreign fashion, and compelled his suite to do the same. He put away his consort, a daughter of the old house of Narüshkin,

and married a German servant girl; he broke through the chaste seclusion of Russian wives and maidens, who were obliged to lay aside the modest veil, to visit in society, and to mingle in the dance with men; unheard-of things, which were a horror to every son of Russia who had grown up in the customs of his fathers. The rude and utter contrast between the higher classes of Russia, who, with their European tastes and fashions, imitated, throughout the XVIIIth century, the language, customs, and habits of life, sometimes of the Germans, sometimes of the French, and the people, who had remained true to the Asiatic type of the national traditions, increased and strengthened the importance and consideration of those adhering to the *old* faith, who were joined here and there by illustrious Boyars, to whom the new *régime*, introduced by the Germanising Tzars and Tzarinas, and the influence of the upstarts from France and Germany, had become insupportable. While the court and the nobles rendered homage to modish French philosophy and frivolous and sensual pleasures, the pious believers, who had opposed 'the new system' as soon as it had begun to shew its head under Nicon, and who, when the evil was gaining ground on all sides, alone remained true to the customs of their fathers and to the religious traditions of former times, were persecuted. All this, the people imagined, pointed to the sudden advent of the judgment day. With Nicon had begun the reign of Antichrist; he was drawing to himself the reins of sovereign sway alike in church and state; and nothing was left for the body of the faithful but to separate themselves more and more from the evil world, and to flock round the hereditary shrines, which nobles and clergy had torn from their altars, and dragged thro' the mud.

Left to itself for centuries, the delusion gradually assumed still greater dimensions. The whole existing order of

the world was regarded by the more extreme leaders of the separatists as a reign of Antichrist; they taught that all subjection to the power of those holding sway, either in church or state, was an abomination to the Lord; that the righteous must flee the world, and seek their salvation in perpetual pilgrimage; that all bonds which had hitherto been regarded as ordained by God must now be torn asunder and destroyed. Marriages performed by servants of Antichrist were culpable alliances, more culpable even than concubinage; rendering of military service was a desertion to the kingdom of Satan; the registration in a community, and the taking of a passport,* were cowardly concessions to the kingdom of this world, with which the righteous ought to have nothing to do. In order to obtain complete sanctification, there was but *one* means, — namely, voluntary martyrdom for the honor of the Lord, and the purification of the soul from sinful contact with the world.

The innumerable sects into which the adherents of the old ritual were divided may be distributed in three groups, all strictly differing from each other, — namely, those *without* priests, those *with* priests, and the Reform sects, whose mysterious origin, in all probability, may be dated even further back than the great schism.

I. The sects *without priests* represent the radical party in the schism, so to speak, the extreme left. These sects were not satisfied with rejecting the reforms of Nicon, and adhering to the old forms of ritual; they considered that,

* Since the time of Peter the Great there has been in Russia every ten years a so-called 'revision of souls', *i. e.* a numbering of the people in the taxable classes; the taxes for those persons who had died between the two periods were reckoned up to the last payment. This arrangement was especially repulsive to the adherents of the old faith, because they considered the taxation of the dead as sinful.

since the year 1666, a new epoch, the reign of Antichrist had begun; that the old Christian law of morals had passed out of force; and that a desperate defence against the seductions of the world had become the one only duty of the faithful.

These sects are without priests, because in their idea the *gift of consecration by laying on of hands*, which had continued from the apostles down to Nicon, *had been lost* by the apostacy of Nicon, and of the clergy seduced by him; and thus all genuine priesthood had become impossible. They have consequently no sacraments, and the want of a genuine priesthood is in their eyes the main argument for the impossibility of any further real marriages. While the other adherents of the old ritual regard the Greek orthodox church as a means of salvation, altho' a corrupted one; she is in the eyes of the priestless sects the kingdom of Antichrist and an abomination, contact with which is to be carefully guarded against by the faithful. As we have before intimated, the new mass-books, introduced by Nicon, differed from the old in the manner of writing the sacred name of 'Jessus'. While the adherents of the old ritual, on the old corrupt documents, style the Founder of Christianity 'Jessus', the reformers adopted the (in Russian) more correct orthography, and called Him 'Jissus'. This 'innovation' was considered by the radical sectarians as a formal 'apostasy from the name of the Redeemer'; and they asserted that the church of the state no longer honored the Son of Mary, but Antichrist under the name of Jissus. This one fact is so characteristic of the kind of argument used by these fanatics that we may forego further details, respecting their peculiarities of doctrine.

The *priestless* party are subdivided into numerous more or less extreme sects, respectively called after their

first teachers, *Danielites*, *Capitones*, *Theodosians*, &c. Their common characteristic is the doctrine of the dominion of Antichrist, of the exceptional position which 'the true believers' occupy since the apostasy of Nicón, and of the extinction of the true priesthood. While some of them allow themselves, in some measure, to come in contact with the advance of civilsation during the last century, so as to soften the harshness of the older doctrines, and effect a kind of compromise with the existing order of things, *three* still rather wide-spread sects adhere to the *anomism* and fanatical lawlessness of earlier times; these are 1. the *Skopzi* (Eunuchs), who emasculate themselves after the birth of a son, and who reckon numerous followers among the rich money changers and jewellers of Petersburg and Moscow; 2. the *Soshigatcli* (Self-burners), who regard voluntary death by fire as the only means of purification from the sins and pollution of the world; a sect often to be found in great numbers, especially in Siberia, where repeatedly, in the last century, companies numbering by thousands burnt themselves; and 3. the *Stranniki* (Wanderers). According to the doctrine of this last sect, a doctrine probably based on early gnostic influence, the only safety for the faithful lies in perpetual withdrawal from the world, in constant pilgrimage, and in absolute negation of all rules, religious, political, and moral. They reckon themselves of the monastic order, repudiate marriage, but allow a 'free' intercourse of the sexes; and they are divided into two classes, — the wanderers proper, and the asylum-givers. These latter form the so-called probation-class, to whom sojourn in the world and intercourse with it is, on account of their weakness, for a time allowed; they are obliged, however, to keep ready in their dwellings secret subterraneous chambers for the reception and protection of wanderers who roam over the world without home, vocation,

or employment. With increasing age, however, or in sickness, the asylum-givers are bound to pass into the wanderers' class, and to break off all relations. If heavy sickness falls on them, they are carried out, on the approach of death, into the woods and fields, so that, though within reach of their abodes, they may die as Wanderers, and 'on their flight'.

The most wide-spread branch of the priestless sect is that of the *Theodosians*, who are to be met with almost throughout the whole empire, and who occupy towards the state a less hostile position than that of the Wanderers or the Self-burners, although they likewise reject the solemnisation of marriage, and for the most part also the prayer for the Tzar. They are to be found in great numbers, not only in Russia Proper, but in Poland also and Livonia, on the western banks of the Peipus, and in Riga. In these countries, in which the Greek church is not the predominant, they enjoy a certain toleration and indulgence; some of their settlements in Livonia date as far back as the time of the Swedes and the days of Polish independence. The central point of all Theodosian communities is the *Preobrashensk* cemetery in Moscow, where the community is distinguished by great wealth, and a certain degree of culture. The representatives of all the communities of this sect assemble yearly in this cemetery, in order to bring their 'offering of love', *i. e.* rich alms, to discuss common affairs, to elect principals, and to receive teachers, images of Saints, and Mass-books, for the various communities in need of them. At the present time these conferences take place only every three years.

ii. The hierarchical (priest-having) sects. Among the original authors of the schism, to which, as we already know, almost without exception only the lower classes belong, there was also a high ecclesiastic, Bishop Paulus of

Kolomna, styled the leader of 'the host of the Righteous'. So long as this bishop and the priests ordained by him, and the lower clergy, who had left the state church at the same time with him, were living, the whole of the adherents of the *old faith* continued in subordination to these clergy; and there were no priestless sects. But as the ordination of priests, according to the unanimous doctrine both of the Greek orthodox church and of all her sects, could be validly performed only by a bishop; and as Paulus had created no bishop, and after him no bishops had passed over to the *old faith* sectaries, the death of this author of the schism soon made the great deficiency of priests apparent. This deficiency gave rise to a division among the sectaries, which soon amounted to a formal contest. While some maintained that the gift of ordaining priests remained with the bishops of the Greek church, and that it was only necessary to win over to the *old faith* priests ordained by the church, in order to retain a hierarchiy for the schism, the more radical and more consistent party insisted that a church, which the believers were *compelled* to leave for the welfare of their souls, could not consecrate true priests any longer, not such, at least, as were worthy to become the spiritual guides or lights of the 'righteous', as they called themselves. They assumed that the true priesthood was altogether lost, and never more to be restored; they therefore, as above mentioned, formally abolished the priestly order, and required all members of the state church who passed over to them to be re-baptised.

In contrast to these, the hierarchical sects recruited their priestly ranks from the clergy of the Greek church who passed over to them. As these conversions did not frequently occur, and the necessity for priests was never completely satisfied, the hierarchical sectaries were never very

particular in examining the antecedents of the renegades. The priests of the *old faith* communities do not, in fact, generally redound much to their honor, and are despised even by the members of their own communities; while the laity still hold each other under strict control, and exercise a kind of church-discipline.

The hierarchical '*old*' believers are, like the priestless, to whom they stand in equally hostile opposition as to the church, split into quite as many subdivisions. The distinctive doctrines refer chiefly to the formalities in the adoption of priests, to points of difference such as how to procure the sacred oil for the confirmation of new-born and converted members, which ought likewise to be consecrated by a bishop, &c. All the hierarchical branches of the schism are connected with each other. As the *Preobrashensk* cemetery in Moscow is the centre of the Theodosians and other *priestless* sects; so the *Rogosch* cemetery is the centre of the *hierarchical* sects, who likewise yearly send their deputies to Moscow, there to deliberate on the common affairs of the '*true*' church.

An open breach in the unity of the hierarchical sects occurred in the year 1789. Reduced to the most painful condition by the absolute want of clergy, several of the south-Russian communities had, in the year 1781, applied to the Imperial governor Count Rumänzov and Prince Potemkin, at that time the all-powerful favorite of the Empress Catharine, with the request that they would induce the Empress and the synod to allow the ordination of priests from the adherents of the old ritual, who should be authorised to perform religious ministrations according to the 'old books'. This request, after some years had elapsed, was granted by the government, in the hope of remedying the old schism, by the publication of an ukaz which constituted the (so-called)

church of the *'united faith'*. Those of the sectaries who accepted the old ritual, which had been set aside by the state-church, and who admitted the priests appointed by the state and the prayer for the Tzar, were relieved from all the civil disabilities which hitherto had lain on them and their brethren, and regarded as reconciled to the ruling church. The greater number of the hierarchical, and the whole of the priestless sects, nevertheless rejected these attempts at reconciliation, and persisted in their former opposition to the order of things prevailing whether in church or state.

iii. A third group of religious communities, who, altho' they have nothing to do with the church schism of the year 1666, or the reforms of Nicon, are likewise reckoned as a part of the schismatical body *(Raskol)*, consists of the Protestantising and Gnosticising Reform sects, whose mysterious origin is not yet cleared up, but which to all appearance owe their first rise to *western* influence. The Russian people identify them with free-masons, and therefore call them *Farmassoni* (a corruption of *franc-maçons)*. While with the old-believing sects church and tradition is all in all, so that they rigidly adhere to all that is customary, and can scarce, through mere externals, get at dogma; these reformers endeavor, as much as possible, to emancipate themselves from outward forms. They regard priesthood and ritual constraint as a paganising depravation of the faith and of the true doctrine; they seek, as much as possible, to spiritualise Christianity, and to ground it solely on the the Bible and the 'inward illumination' of believers. The earliest traces of them to be found are at the end of the XVIIth century, and their appearance coincides with that of certain German mystics and Theosophists in Moscow. The most important of these was a Prussian sub-officer, who

was carried to Moscow, having been taken prisoner by the Russians during the seven years' war.

Characteristic of the position of these sectaries towards western Europe is the following fact. When Napoleon, in the year 1812, marched to Russia, and the whole Russian nation, without distinction of old ritualists and state churchmen, rose against him, the Reform sects of southern Russia recognised in him the 'Lion from the valley of Jehosaphat', spoken of by the prophets (Joel, iii, 2. 12. 16), as having come to overthrow the false Tzar, and to establish a new empire; and they sent to meet him, as far as Poland, a deputation of white-clad elders, who, however, fell into the hands of the Cosacs, and were almost utterly destroyed.

Among this group we may especially distinguish two sects, the *Malakans* (milk-eaters, *i. e.* those who, contrary to the orthodox doctrine, take milk on fast-days), and the *Duchoborzes* (spiritualists); the latter reject the worship of images, interpret the Bible figuratively, adhere to strict outward morals, and, in political matters, after the fashion of the old Anabaptists, shew a certain inclination to socialism.

Lastly, we have yet to mention the so-called *Sabbatniki*, who celebrate the (Sabbath) Saturday, instead of Sunday, and adhere to a modernised and Gnosticising Judaism. They are only to be met with in small numbers, and almost exclusively in the southwest of Russia, in the province of Bessarabia. Little is known of their doctrines and their peculiarities, as their existence, like that of the *Duchoborzes*, is, as far as possible, *officially* ignored, — a policy which was formerly observed also towards the old-believing sects, especially to those without priests, and which was frequently accompanied, moreover, with persecutions of the severest kind.

The events on which we have now to enter more particularly do not refer to the whole body, but only to the hierarchical branches of the so-called old-faith schism in Russia. Altho' it must lessen the significance of this episode that it has nothing to do with the extreme party of the sectarians, yet it is, on the other hand, of weight that these events concern the more cultivated, morally more earnest, and hence politically more important portion of the old-faith population; that their indirect influence extends, therefore, over the entire people; and that the greater part of the Cosacs belong to the hierarchical sects of the Russian church-schism. To effect an understanding with these latter had been, already in the former century, at the time of the great Cosac rebellion, the desire and endeavor of the government. The priest-holding branch of the old-faith sects assume altogether a mediating position between the governmental — and therefore in popular esteem but secondary state church — and the stiff independence and popularity of the radicalism of the old-ritualists: they form the bridge between the two groups. Were they once reconciled to the state and its plan of reform, the isolated *Bespopovtchina* (the totality the priest*less* sects) would be reduced to the implicit belief of a few fanatics, who no longer share the national consciousness of their contemporaries.

The Nicon schism of the year 1666 was not limited to Russia, but had extended forth to Transylvania and Galicia, into Turkey, the Danubian principalities, and a part of Eastern Hungary; and had produced divisions among the professors of the Greek-Oriental church-confession in these countries. It is principally adherents of the hierarchical type whom we meet with in the Austrian and Turkish frontier-provinces in considerable number, and who have,

up to the most recent time, been increased and recruited by migrations from Russia.*

With careful fidelity, the Russians and Cosacs who have migrated into Austria and Turkey hold fast to the customs of their fathers and to national usages; for their religious and political ideas and principles have become inseparably intertwined; and exile from the soil of hallowed Russia, is, as they imagine, in itself a danger to the soul. The greater part of these families, moreover, live outside of their fatherland, only in the third and fourth generation. Under the successors of Peter the Great, who, in attacking the old schismatics, were combating, at the same time, the national opposition to Reform, the persecution of the sectaries had reached its height, especially as the Pugatchev rebellion, and other peasant and Cosac revolts of the former century, had emanated chiefly from the adherents of the old ritual, and had had in religious matters the same reactionary tendency as in political.

From the first, the hopes of the Russ malcontents, and especially of the Poles, were directed to the old-faith sectaries. Since the accession of Alexander II., the young Russian emigrants assembled in London aimed at employing for revolutionary purposes the growing discontent of the old-believing sects, especially of those living in Russia. Kelssiev,** a friend of Herzen, had for years published a journal, written in the (Slavonic) national church jargon, for the special object of exciting the old believers against the

* On the Pruss frontier, too, in East Prussia, there live a colony of emigrated Russ sectaries; but these belong to the priest*less* branch, and are not very numerous.

** This Kelssiev has done a great service to Russian history by the publication of an extraordinarily comprehensive collection of documents on the history of the sects.

government. It was reserved for the indefatigable agitating zeal of Polish fugitives to draw into the net of these revolutionary propaganda the Russian sectaries residing in Austria and Turkey also, and to make the attempt to use even these hitherto scarcely heeded, and almost unknown divisions as a weapon against Russia. Twenty years before, there was heard a rumor of extensive Polish intrigues in Turkey, which aimed at nothing less than the removal of the focus of the whole schism into one of the Slavonic border-lands lying outside Russia, and the establishment of a pan-Slavistic propaganda in favor of the restoration of Poland. Respecting this agitation, which had hitherto been wrapped in the veil of mystery, a journal which had appeared in Moscow some time since, has published a series of interesting revelations, affording us a glimpse into the wonderful doings of the inhabitants of this but little known south-east corner of Europe. For some time, the author of these publications, who was evidently initiated into all the mysteries of Polish emigration, remained unknown; and it is but lately that he is discovered to be a Russian fugitive, who, having returned to his home, has become, instead of a revolutionist, an adherent of Russian pan-Slavism, and, as such, has solicited the pardon of the government.

The attention of the Polish patriots was directed, as early as 1830, to the Russian sectaries settled on the frontiers of Austria and Turkey; as these, since they had become subjects of foreign rulers, fancied themselves released from all duties to their former oppressors, and made no secret of their hope for the overthrow of the existing order of things in Russia, and for the consequent acknowledgment and supremacy of their own religious community. In order to inform themselves more accurately on the condition of these borderers, *Adam Czartoriski*, the acknowledged head

of the Poles at that time living in France, in the year 1831, sent an agent, named Michael Tzaykovski, into the Dobrudscha. He was specially commissioned to enter into relations with the Necrassov-Cosacs, the descendants of the rebels who, towards the close of the last century, after the termination of the Bulavin insurrection, had migrated thither under the guidance of the Hetman Necrassov. Tzaykovski endeavored to allure the Cosacs with the prospect of a general rising, led by Poland, of all Turkish Slavs against the Sultan. He tried, by their mediation, to enter into negociations with the Don and Ural Cosacs (likewise adherents of the old ritual), and he raved with genuine Slavic eccentricity of the establishment of a pan-Slavonian republic under the Polish Aegis. He made profession of the Moslem faith, entered Turkish military service, styled himself henceforth Achmed Bey, and, in his capacity as a superior officer, was constantly able to render services and do favors to the Necrassov Cosacs. He soon succeeded in forming a secret league for the restoration of Cosac freedom, and the 'ancient faith', and in acquiring a decided influence over all the dwellers on the Russian frontier. From the want of any well-ordered system in the Turkish and Austrian frontier provinces, and from the low condition of the civilisation of the inhabitants of these lands, the enterprising Pole became a universally-known personage, without the governments concerned having the least foreboding of the plans he carried about with him.

The chimera of an old-faith Cosac republic, which had never been more than an ultimate aim in the background of Tzaykovski's plans, gave place during the next ten years to undertakings of a more practical character. For years before, the old-faith schismatics belonging to the hierarchical sects had clung to the cherished hope and longing for the

establishment of a firmly-ordered and united body of clergy, at whose head might be a patriarch, who should have like authority over the faithful throughout the land of whatsoever rulers. The fulfilment, however, of this desire was attended with peculiar difficulties. According to the common ancient faith of Eastern, no less than of Western Christendom, only a consecrated ecclesiatic, that is, in fact, only a bishop, could impart ordination by laying on of hands, as the gift of this supernatural consecration has been handed down by the Apostles personally to their successors, the bishops. As only a few higher clergy had joined the sectaries in the schism that had taken place in the 17th century, and these had all died before it had been possible for them to ordain or consecrate a sufficient number of successors, the hierarchical sectaries had always been in want of clergy. As the ordination conferred even in the Greek Orthodox Church was in their opinion a valid one, if only it had been conferred by a bishop, the sectaries, as we have seen already, aimed at drawing over to their own party individual priests. The defectiveness of this make-shift had been for some time as bitterly felt as the dependence on the various individuals whom they induced to join them, and who were despised, yet could not be done without, because they were in possession of that consecrating virtue for which nothing else could compensate, and which alone capacitated them to administer the sacraments. To induce a bishop to leave the ruling church and join their sect, had never, in spite of their most eager efforts, been accomplished by the adherents of the old ritual, though all their desires had ong been directed to obtaining one. If once they had a prelate capable of imparting consecration, they need no longer take any trouble to convert disreputable priests; for this bishop could consecrate clergy of every

rank for them, and to any extent, and thus could satisfy their requirements for ever. The prospect of such a bishop was held out to the Necrassov Cosàcs, in the year 1845, by Tzaykovski; and immediately the tidings spread of the great blessing which would fall to the lot of the Elected throughout the old-faith communities, not only of Austria and Turkey, but of Russia too. The central point of all the sectaries outside of Russia had from of old been the monastery of Byelocrinitz in the Bukovina. Two known and approved monks of this highly esteemed sanctuary, *Paulus* and *Olympius* were at once sent to Constantinople to negociate with Tzaykovski. As they had every reason to fear the observation of the Russian agents, and of the numerously represented Greek clergy in Constantinople, the whole matter was carried on with the deepest secresy. Michael Gontcharov, the leader of the Necrassov Cosàcs, and Shukovski, a special agent of Tzaykovski's in his negociations with the sectaries, were the most important accessories and participators in the whole transaction. The two monks entered the Turkish capital in disguise: Tzaykovski received them into his own house, and at once proposed to them Ambrosius, the former metropolitan of Bosnia, who, after being deposed from his office, had left the Greek orthodox church, and had declared himself ready to accept the dignity offered to him of chief shepherd over all the old-faith communities of the hierarchical persuasion. The two monks of Byelocrinitz at first appeared to hesitate, alleging the prejudices of their brethren and their own scruples of conscience: an eastern bishop, if possible, one from the holy land, who had from the first remained true to the 'old doctrine', and was not now only converted to it, would have been far preferable in their estimation. In order to do what they could, Paulus and Olympius undertook a journey into the East; provided with money by Tzay-

kovski, they wandered all over Palestine, Egypt, and Syria, in search of a bishop of the ancient-church. Their labor was fruitless; the heresy of the old ritualists had never had adherents in the East; and when the two monks returned to Constantinople, they no longer delayed to give their consent to the choice made by Tzaykovski. On the 16th April 1846, a formal contract was concluded with Ambrosius, who, in the meanwhile, had completely joined the schismatic party; the three men, disguised as Cosàcs, returned to the monastery; and the new archbishop was installed in his office amid general rejoicing.

The matter might indeed have become of the utmost importance. Had Ambrosius succeeded in procuring acknowledgment from all the sectaries, even those living in Russia, of the hierarchical observance, the focus of a fanatical community, numbering millions of adherents in the Russian empire, would be actually placed in a remote Austrian province, and would be given up to anti- (or at least non-) Russian influence. With the anarchy prevailing in Turkey, and, in truth, in the Austrian frontier-lands, and with the great influence of the Poles living in Turkey, it was in no wise improbable that the archbishopric of Byelocrinitz would be made the central point for a dangerous agitation against the Russian government, especially as the Necrassov Cosàcs were constantly holding secret communications with their brethren on the Don and the Wolga.

The old-faith or Byelocrinitz archbishopric established by Tzaykovski, presided over by Ambrosius, the ex-bishop of the Bulgars, who had been excluded from the Greek orthodox church, displayed even in the first months of its existence a lively energy. Through the mediation of Count Kolovrat, next to Metternich the most powerful minister in Austria, and the Archduke Ludwig, who was specially inclined to the ad-

herents of the old faith, Paulus and Olympius, the monks already known to us as active foreign agents, were able to procure for their new superior the acknowledgment of the Vienna cabinet. They next directed their attention to the organisation of the clergy in Turkey, in order to ensure to themselves the allegiance or the Necrassov Cosàcs residing in the Dobrudcha. A bishop, for the sectaries living south of the Danube, having been consecrated by Ambrosius, and placed subordinate to him, agents were sent to Russia to inform the brethren living there of what had occurred, and to invite them to co-operate in the great work of the union of all the hierarchical sects. Geronty, the archimandrite (or abbot) of Byelocrinitz, was despatched to Moscow, provided with a false passport, in order to negociate there with the representative Committee of all the Russian sects of that connexion, which assembled yearly at the Rogosch cemetery. In order not to excite the mistrust of the sectaries residing in Russia, Geronty took care to be silent as to the fact that a Polish renegade and former Catholic had had a hand in the matter. He contented himself with disseminating the tidings of the etablishment of a central point for the 'old'-believers, and of the revival of the most effectual authority for mission to their clergy; and he begged for contributions towards the worthy endowment of the new archbishopric. He succeeded, indeed, in making the heads of the community in Moscow enthusiastic for his plan, and in collecting a considerable sum. As the richest merchants of Moscow belong to the hierarchical observance of the old ritual, and are distinguished by their readiness in offering for religious objects, the collections were truly magnificent; and, in May 1847, the archimandrite was able to set out on his return, full of joyful hopes. But, circumspect and secret as had been his proceedings, the police had got wind of the

appearance of an emissary from Austria; Geronty was unexpectedly seized in the province of Tula, and taken into strict custody. His treasures were taken from him, and numerous arrests took place among those with whom he had had intercourse at the Rogosch cemetery. The tidings of the establishment of a metropolitan see in the Bukovina in a short time reached the minister of the secret police in St. Petersburg; the most important point in the whole matter, — namely, the participation of Tzaykovski and the Polish emigrants, seems not to have been discovered; which is to be explained by the fact that the prudent emissary had been silent respecting it even to his Moscow friends.

The Russian government, in the autumn of 1847, addressed itself in strong terms to the cabinet of Vienna, complaining of the toleration of intrigues directed against the security of the state and church of Russia, and demanding that measures should be taken against the 'sectarian mischief' and its organisation. It was to be ascribed to Russian influence that, at the same time, the Greek orthodox patriarch of Constantinople raised a complaint in Vienna against the sectarian pretended metropolitan, and demanded his deposition. Metternich's dependence on the Emperor Nicolas rendered it probable that this demand, after it had been drawn up in due form, would be agreed to. But the adherents of the old faith did not lack friends and patrons in the higher circles of the government. The venality of the Austrian bureaucrats could not resist the rich offerings which flowed from Byelocrinitz to Vienna, and as, moreover, the archbishopric of Byelocrinitz, inconvenient as it might be to Russia, did no harm to the Austrian empire, they were satisfied at first with merely summoning Ambrosius to Vienna, and demanding an explanation from him. The archbishop, or metropolitan (as he was now named), was an old and in-

significant man, whom the leaders of the sectarian communities used as the passive instrument of their plans. They, therefore, considered it expedient, on his departure for Vienna, to give him an adviser in the person of Olympius.

At the end of December 1847, the two men arrived in the Austrian capital. The old system was at that time in its full prime; indolence and slothfulness prevailed in all branches of the administration and of public life. Weeks elapsed before Ambrosius was even told what was really required of him. Through their well-informed Petersburg agents, the sectarian party had been long ago informed of what had occurred; Ambrosius begged for audiences of the Archduke Ludwig, who was regarded as a warm patron of the community, and of the Lord High Chamberlain Count Zingheti; and every thing seemed to be prosperous, when another diplomatic communication arrived from Russia, earnestly demanding help in the disorders of the Petersburg cabinet. Metternich, who had hitherto taken but little part in the whole affair, now interposed with reckless determination. He ordered the monastery of Byelocrinitz to be closed, and notified to the Petersburg cabinet that Ambrosius was removed for ever from his metropolitan see, and was rendered harmless by banishment. This course was preceded by no sort of investigation or establishment of facts; the 'higher motives', which all his life had actuated the great chancellor of state, had alone sufficed for him. In spite of this severity, which had at first inspired the sectaries with great fear, the whole thing was pretty much like a stroke in the air: Ambrosius and his advisers still continued in Vienna, conducting from thence the affairs of their community, and maintaining lively relations with Tzaykovski, their *spiritus rector*, and with their 'brethren' in Russia.

Meanwhile, the March revolution of 1848 broke out. Metternich was obliged to flee; in a moment the outer and inner condition of the Imperial state were changed. The manifesto regarding the establishment of a liberal constitution, the promise of religious freedom, &c. were on the lips of all, and infused new hopes into the minds of the sectaries, who otherwise troubled themselves but little about politics, and, in their ignorance, could scarcely understand the questions at stake: they saw the world exclusively from the platform of their religious interests, and they believed that their community was after all the true salt of the world. As their former patron, Count Kolovrat, was now at the head of the March government, and a new spirit seemed to have pervaded the whole Austrian state, they imagined that with little trouble they could effect the abrogation of Metternich's decrees. In the name of all the adherents of the old-faith, on the 26th March, 1848, being in the midst of the revolutionary movement, Olympius presented to Count Kolovrat a petition drawn up in the German and Russian languages, which, for the singularity of its composition, may well be inserted here. It ran as follows:

'In the perfect conviction that everything that claims the clemency and magnanimity of your excellency will be graciously heard, and will find help and consolation, I venture most submissively to lay at your Excellency's feet my humble request, with all the more child-like confidence, because once before it was my happy lot, as deputy from the Byelocrinitz monastery, and from all the old-faith communities in the Bukovina, to taste the sweet fruits of the paternal care and favor of your Excellency.

In consequence of the privilege assigned, in the year 1783, by the immortal Emperor Joseph the Second, to all the adherents of the old faith, touching freedom of religion and

of clergy, his Majesty, our gracious Emperor Ferdinand the First, moved by the most gracious and powerful intercession of your Excellency, has graciously been pleased, by virtue of his sovereign decree of the 18th September 1844, to allow the above-named communities to appoint a foreign Chief Shepherd; which communities, by means of their deputies, brought from Constantinople, in the year 1846, the venerable metropolitan Ambrosius, whom also his Majesty, being convinced of his pure and blameless morals and unreprehensible conduct, did not hesitate, by sovereign decree of the 5th March 1847, not only to confirm in his former dignity, but to admit within the jurisdiction of the Empire, whereupon, with the utmost delight, on the 5th August 1847, at the district court in Bukovina, he also took the oath of allegiance.

'By a citation from the governor of Galicia, Count v. Stadion, he was summoned to Lemberg, where he received orders to proceed forthwith to Vienna; and although he was not prepared for this journey, he at once proceeded thither, and arrived on the 27th December of last year, without knowing what was required of him.

'Yet a whole month elapsed before the cause of his citation was revealed to him, for which reason he felt himself obliged to request an audience of his Imperial Highness, the Archduke Ludwig; which was granted. But with all this, he could gain no information with regard to his citation; he was, in fact, asked by his Imperial Highness what he desired from his Majesty the Emperor; to which demand he had nothing else to answer but that he was ordered hither by Count v. Stadion, in order here to learn from his Majesty the gracious explanation of his summons and the further Imperial commands. After a few days, on the 30th January 1848, a paper was delivered to him by the court-chancellor,

Count von Inzeghi, in which the most reverend metropolitan Ambrosius was charged, by the Russian court and the patriarch of Constantinople, with unjust and unfounded accusations, arising merely from hatred to our religion, which had formerly prevailed throughout Russia; and he was required himself, within 8 days, to justify on the nine points brought against him. His reverence did not neglect, on the 7th February, 1848, personally to present a written form of his conscientious and truthful justification to Count von Inzeghi, with a request for his gracious intercession. This was promised him; and it was explained to him that, as a diplomatic matter, this depended solely and entirely on Prince Metternich. But, unfortunately, no regard at all was paid to his justification; and without having committed any crime, he was informed of the sovereign decree, that his return to the Byelocrinitz monastery, and his further activity on behalf of the *old*-ritualists in the Bukovina, were forbidden.

'These unexpected tidings threw the whole monastery chapter, and all the old-faith communities in the Bukovina, into the greatest consternation, and caused the most terrible perplexity in the minds of all; they at once, therefore, assembled in the monastery, and declared voluntarily and unanimously that they would spare neither time nor expense, and that they would at once send to his Majesty at Vienna several deputies, chosen both from the monastery and the communities, to enquire into the cause of this fatal sentence. Yet, to avoid the woful consequences which might possibly arise from the imprudence of the communities, the more reasonable of the cloister monks opposed this plan, and, by wise representations and warnings, which they had made only from child-like love and firm fidelity to their most gracious sovereign, succeeded in restraining the communities

from their resolve, until his Majesty's final decision should have been received from Vienna.

'As now the venerable monastery chapter has placed this matter in my hand as a most sacred duty, and has commanded me to take the steps necessary for the return of the most reverend metropolitan, I cast myself at the feet of your Excellency, and implore your gracious assent that the most reverend metropolitan may be allowed, for the tranquillising of the people, to return to the Byelocrinitz monastery. All the more do we hope to obtain the most gracious mediation of your excellency, as, in these days so full of blessed augury for all the states and races happily united under the glorious Austrian sceptre, the greatest of all benefits would be conferred by the granting of their desires; the adherents of the old faith are, moreover, no less true than others to the glorious Imperial house, and no less submissive and attached: hence they feel themselves worthy of the benefit solicited. May it please your Excellency therefore to give a favorable hearing to this urgent request, &c.'

In spite of all awkwardness and clumsiness of expression, this document is not drawn up without a certain kind of skill: that the metropolitan, or archbishop of Byelocrinitz, claimed spiritual jurisdiction over *all*, even over the old faith members of his community out of Austria, and that adherents of the same were living also in Galicia and Transylvania, is as much ignored as that he had entered into connexions with Russia. It is exclusively the adherents of the old faith in the Bukovina who are mentioned; and the petitioner insinuates that the fidelity and attachment of this numerous community, amid the agitations of the universal changes then occurring, is no matter of indifference; especially, as they can lastingly be purchased by mere con-

cessions to their religious requirements. In this spirit Kolovrat seems at any rate at first to have apprehended the petition which Olympius presented on behalf of his brother ecclesiastics. He promised the petitioner a favorable decision; and even when this was not awarded, and (out of regard to Russia) Metternich's decree still continued in force, Ambrosius remained in Vienna unmolested, and without being limited in the free discharge of his office. Olympius, however, was not satisfied; infected with the universal confidence in the victorious power of the revolution, he repaired, in May 1848, to Prague, in order to take part in the Slavonic congress, and lay before it the grievances of his brethren. The appearance of the strangely attired monk, who had spent his whole life in the service of a cause of which few knew anything, and who had roamed through almost every land of Europe and a great part of the East, in search of a consecrated representative of the 'old faith', which, in his idea, had once ruled the world, did not fail to make a certain impression on the Slavonic congress. Besides him, there was present at the assembly a Russian, named *Michael Bakunin*, the representative of Young Russia, with its absence of religion and tradition, perhaps the only member of the congress who understood the whole extent of the request which Olympius delivered in a musical voice, though not without infusing pungency into his oration by bitter invectives against the sovereigns of Russia and Austria. The visionary conclave of representatives of the Slavonic league, however, were, a few days after, scattered to the winds by the cannon of Windischgrätz: Olympius, who had not been disinclined to re-assert before the barricades the sway of the old faith, which had been lost two centuries before at Moscow, — what mattered to him the political tendencies involved in the contest? — perceived in good time that the

Austrian Field-marshal had the superiority on his side, and fled from Prague without having too seriously compromised the old-believing church. In Vienna he found a brother monk, the same Paulus with whom we have met before, arrived with new instructions from the Bukovina. It had been resolved to go to the Imperial constituent assembly, and claim its co-operation in the maintenance of the endangered metropolitan see. Meanwhile, however, a fresh blow had been struck against it; probably at the desire of the Russian envoy, banishment of Ambrosius to Zilly, a remote little town in Steyermark, was decreed, and the intelligence was conveyed to him in June. As the followers of the old faith, in spite of the new era, still rejoiced in various influential patrons in the higher departments of the Bureaucracy, and as the disorders of the agitated time left little leisure to the Austrian government for enquiring after the metropolitan of Byelocrinitz, whom it had no cause to fear, and whom it persecuted only for the sake of pleasing Russia; Ambrosius still continued for months in Vienna, in spite of the sentence passed on him, and in uninterrupted intercourse with his loyal adherents. Paulus and Olympius, however, who seem to have been in communication with various Slavonic democrats, reckoned confidently on the victory of the revolution, and saw in it the restoration of the glory of the old faith of Russia. Their connexions with Moscow remained as before; and, as an evidence of this, a remarkable letter lies before us, in which Paulus informs a Moscow friend of the history of the Austrian revolution, and describes its influence on the Byelocrinitz affair from his own point of view. 'Metternich, the root of the mischief inflicted on the righteous, has been smitten by the Lord, put to flight, and even threatened with death; the Tzar (the Kayser Ferdinand), however, just as he was on the point of

expelling the faithful, was compelled to sign constitutional rules', which secured freedom of religion to all imperial subjects; when once the great deputation (the Imperial diet) has assembled, a happy issue may be looked for with confidence. 'It is true' (he continues), 'it is an evil time, and the saints are few; but the Lord will protect his flock, and knows how to lead them to the longed-for rest of Canaan.' The peculiar narrowness of the old believers' views, not caring aught for the rest of the world and its progressive civilisation, and estimating political events only with regard to their influence on the destiny of the sect, appears in some parts of this document in a very original manner; Paulus, for instance, cautions his Moscow friend against the idea, nay against the very word 'Constitution'; 'it is' (he says) 'an evil, soul-destroying thing, and is only to be tolerated because the community of the righteous can derive advantage from it.' The obstinacy with which these representatives of a sect which is based essentially on dogmatic errors and misunderstandings, and in comparison with which even the Greek Orthodox Church is the representative of progress, nevertheless defend their cause, untroubled about the rest of the world, has something grand in it, in spite of all the narrowness and ignorance which characterise their opinions.

The increase of the revolutionary disorder, and the security and freedom which Ambrosius, in spite of the decree of exile, still enjoyed at Vienna, raised the courage of the two monks. In July, Olympius wrote to Byelocrinitz that they must only keep the 'machinery' in motion, and set bishops, priests, and monks to work. Emboldened by the increasing helplessness of the government, the monks and priests banished from the monastery of Byelocrinitz actually returned, broke open the sealed gates of their sanctuary, and began to celebrate divine service. The authorities of

Lemberg, who just then had all hands fully employed in settling the rebellious Poles, did not consider it necessary, on account of this assumption of power, to proceed against the otherwise loyal 'old-believers': and the governor was instructed to treat them as lenientely as possible, — an instruction which he carried out. Merely because the Russian government had required a stricter inspection of the Russians in the Bukovina, officials had, from time to time, been sent to Byelocrinitz, in order to look into affairs there. As these officials were chiefly Poles, and as these had no reason to be at all unfavorably inclined towards fugitives from Russ intolerance, they regularly announced their presence before they arrived at a place, and the sectarian adherents of the old-faith put aside their secret correspondence, and all that appeared dangerous. A report was then, of course, sent to Vienna; 'that everything had been found in the utmost tranquillity at Byelocrinitz; and that they were convinced that the Russian complaints of revolutionary intrigues and secret correspondence with Moscow were utterly unfounded'.

In July 1848, in order to give satisfaction to Russia, Ambrosius was at last despatched to Zilly; Paulus and Olympius, however, returned to Byelocrinitz. They continued in communication both with Zilly and Moscow, gave Ambrosius a vicar-general in the person of *Onufryc*, a bishop consecrated by himself, and zealously carried on the work they had begun, in the organisation of an old-faith hierarchy. Within a few months three newly ordained bishops, and one archbishop, were secretly sent to the brethren residing in Russia. The Russ government had gained nothing else but that it had inflamed the hatred of the old-faith adherents, alienated from it a number of its own subjects, and strengthened the monks of Byelocrinitz

in the conviction that their best friends were in Constantinople, and their most dangerous foes in St. Petersburg. The investigations repeatedly set on foot in Moscow and Petersburg, thanks to cunning and to the irresistible power of the silver rubles which the old-believers had at their disposal, were resultless. As the government thought itself obliged to act with special severity, the number of the Russians who fled to Austria and Turkey, in the period between the Hungarian campaign and the Eastern war, considerably increased; and the bond between the hierarchy of Byelocrinitz and the Russian portion of the sect, represented by the authorities of the Moscow Rogosch-cemetery, became continually closer.

The years which preceded the Eastern war were successfully employed by the old-believers of the hierarchical Observance living in the Bukovina, in completing the reorganisation of their clergy, and giving them a strictly hierarchical unity. In spite of the fact that the Austrian government, to prevent future conflict with Russia, had allowed the establishment of an old-faith metropolitan see at Byelocrinitz only on condition that all relations with the sectaries living in Russia and in Turkey were to be broken off, and that no place of refuge in the Bukovina was afforded any longer to Russ fugitives; Byelocrinitz more and more assumed the appearance of becoming the Rome of the old-believing world in the East. In Moscow and Tula, as well as in the northern provinces of Turkey, there lived old-faith bishops and archbishops, who had been consecrated by *Kyrill*, the second metropolitan elected as successor to Ambrosius, and who regarded him, at least secretly, as their supreme head. The Russ government, of course, did not recognise these sectarian prelates, who passed with the state for ordinary merchants and tradesmen, and even bore secular

names, apart from their religious designations. But this very circumstance increased the consideration and influence which they enjoyed among their brethren. It was otherwise in Turkey, where these ecclesiastics, thanks to the influence of Tzaykovski *(Sadik-Pâsha)*, were openly favored, and had to contend with the mistrust only of the ultras of their party, such as the Necrassov Casacs. According to the notions of the Russ sectaries, the keeping of church-registers is a deadly sin (the old-believers rest on that narrative in the Old Testament, according to which David is chastised by the Lord for numbering his people); and yet, at the desire of the authorities, registers of this kind had been introduced by the newly created bishops. The support of the Turkish government, however, soon effected the universal ackowledgment of the clergy sent from Byelocrinitz.

Such was the state of things when the Eastern war threatened to break out; and now the Polish emigrants used all the powers at their disposal to injure the cause of Russia by means of the influence they had obtained over the old-believers. The mighty plan of bringing about a general rising of the sectaries among the Cosacs living in the south of Russia soon shewed itself to be impracticable, as the Cosacs tribes generally saw their historical vocation in attacking Islam; but Tzaycovski had still not wholly labored in vain. In consequence of the lively connexion that existed between the old-faith communities and ecclesiastics living in Russia and their brethren in the Bukovina and in Turkey, Tzaycovski found it possible to receive, on the one hand, regular tidings from the Russ capitals, and, on the other, to obtain influence over the tone of feeling in Russian old-faith circles. Information was interchanged on both sides more eagerly than ever. At Ismaël, a town in the Russian province of Bessarabia, situated not far from the frontier, a

formal office was organised in the house of the old-faith merchant Beläquev, for the interchange of secret letters. Messengers from Moscow and Tula here gave information respecting the Russian preparations for war, the feeling of the people, and the measures of the government; and the tidings were forthwith despatched to Constantinople by means of Gontcharov, the Hetman of the Necrassov Cosacs. On the other side, reports were carried from Ismaël into the interior of Russia respecting the impending irresistible invasion of the allies, their friendly feeling towards the sectaries persecuted by the Russ government, &c. — stories, which never failed to produce a certain effect on the uncultivated masses,* who looked with expectation to the future, and aggravated the immense excitement which had seized the whole Russ nation at the outbreak of the war. When the Russians crossed the Danube, occupied the two Rumanian principalities, and advanced to Silistria, a great part of the old-faith dwellers of those regions had fled into the interior of Turkey, where they were received with kindness. Tzaycovski even succeeded in forming a Cosàc voluntary legion, led by Gontcharov, which rendered important service to the Turkish army by their knowledge of localities, and by the bravery of the legionaries. The feeling among the old-faith folk was, however, a divided one; the appearance, on Turkish ground, of an army, similar in race with themselves, could not fail to produce a certain sensation: old remembrances revived of the common struggles of their forefathers against the crescent, and the national feeling of a part of the Russ-Turkish sectaries came into conflict with their religious scruples.

* Notwithstanding their being so widely diffused, the old-faith sects consist exclusively of persons of the lower classes, peasants, and utterly uncultivated artizans and tradesmen.

The deeply rooted faith of the Russ nation in the providential destiny of Russia to win back Byzantium, and to re-establish on the shores of the Bosporus the old Byzantine splendour of the Greek or Eastern empire, would assert its sway even in the hearts of the descendants of religious fanatics, exiled for scores or hundreds of years from their fatherland. Russia had been too long the centre of the pan-Slavonic ideas, that it should be possible even for the kindred Poles to stifle these in the course of a few years by kindling religious fanaticism. Even two old-faith bishops, who had formerly been closely connected with Tzaycovski and the metropolitan of Byelocrinitz, began to waver. They rejected, on every possible pretext, the repeated admonitions of the Turkish government that they should flee to Constantinople; and they endeavored to enter into communication with General Ushakov, who commanded the advanced Russian corps. With a want of judgment, however, such as could only be possible to the irresponsible representatives of the old precarious system, the Russ general soon alienated from him all hearts, and made the Russ emigrants again the blind tools of their own fanaticism and of Polish influence; the two old-faith bishops, who had presented themselves to General Ushakov, were 'under superior orders' surprised by a Russ detachment, sent as prisoners to Russia, and shut up in an orthodox 'penal monastery'.

The alarm which the tidings of this measure spread over the whole old-faith world, from Constantinople to Moscow, was immense. The whole of the old-faith population of northern Turkey was exasperated against Russia; no means remained untried of inflicting injury on the Russian army; and the very same persons who, a few days before, had not been disinclined to render service as spies and guides to the intruders, their own kindred, and who, without

difficulty, might have been made messengers of a propaganda among the Slavonic races of Turkey, now fled in crowds to Constantinople, where many of them entered the military service, and all of them found support and kindly reception through Tzaycovski's mediation. Within a short time, information reached Byelocrinitz of all that had occurred; and the intrigues in Russia itself, which had, for a time, come to a standstill, owing to the general patriotic enthusiasm of the nation, increased in extent and intensity. The Russ government, by the removal of the two harmless ecclesiastics, had made numberless foes in their own land, and decidedly helped to justify the doctrine promulgated from Byelocrinitz, that the mitigation of the hard lot of the old-believers was to be looked for only in non-Russian states. Emissaries, who stirred up the discontent of the Russian old-faith folk, spread exaggerated reports of the irresistibility of the foe, and took care to supply the secret office at Ismaïl regularly with tidings respecting the internal condition and the movements of the army, and, in spite of the strict watch kept on the frontier, contrived to reach Moscow and Petersburg in all kinds of disguises. From the close and, to foreign eyes, invisible bond which unites all the sectaries, these emissaries could be sure of finding in every city colleagues who received them kindly, and provided them with all that they required. The organisation of the sects is of primeval origin: it rests on the blind subjection of the masses to their leaders; and the equal danger which hovers over all binds all into a league, the branches of which extend from the White Sea to the Black. Emissaries, indeed, succeeded in entering into communication with the two captive bishops, and repeatedly speaking with them. As any violent attempt at liberation seemed impossible, they desired at least to take vengeance on the authors of all the

evils under which the righteous groaned. Provided with false passports, there appeared at Ismaïl, in Beläyev's house, two disguised Necrassov Cosàcs, who declared that they were commissioned by *Sadik Pasha* (Tzaycovski) to go on to Petersburg, in order to assassinate the Tzar. The animosity had reached so great a height, that no one among the Russ or non-Russ accessories opposed the plan. The two desperate men continued their journey; and, as they halted with brethren of the faith only, and were silent as to their object with any who were not fully to be trusted, and were provided with good recommendations, they actually reached Petersburg. What they did there, — whether they gave up their intentions, or only postponed them, is not to be gathered from the sources before us.

In February 1855 Nicolas died; and before the year had reached its close, the negociations for peace had begun. As, at first, there was nothing else for them to do, the leaders of the old-faith party employed every means at their disposal to accomplish the liberation of the two imprisoned bishops, and to demand restitution of the money which, in the year 1847, had been taken from their emissary, the archimandrite Gerontye at Tula. After all the efforts of the Porte were frustrated by the refusal of Russia to give back the prisoners, it was resolved at Byelocrinitz to make a formal complaint of the Russ government to the great powers of Europe, especially to Napoleon III, and to the Pope. It was even proposed to submit to the Conference at Paris a general petition of all the adherents of the old-faith, including those living in Russia, requesting the Conference to place the sects under the protection of the European Areopagus. In Moscow, however, where, after the cessation of hostilities in the Crimea, they had become convinced of the necessity of silent submission to the ruling

power, and complete renouncement of all help from abroad this plan was rejected by the assembly of the elders on account of its danger; and the urgent wish was expressed, that regard should be paid to the brothers now under the power of the most dangerous foe, and that nothing should be done which might compromise these, and expose them to new persecutions. The Necrassov Cosàcs, however, would not, on their side, be prevented from taking a last desperate step. They sent a plenipotentiary to Paris, provided with Polish introductions, to appeal to the mediation of the French Emperor in favor of their still imprisoned pastors. This plenipotentiary, *Ossip Gontcharov*, a brother of the Hetman, was actually received in the Tuileries, but, of course, without attaining any positive result.

Meanwhile, an unexpected event occured at Byelocrinitz, endangering the existence of the old-faith metropolitan see: the Austrian government had received information that the prohibited communications of the metropolitan with the brethren residing abroad were carried on as much as ever; and, for the avoidance of diplomatic unpleasantnesses, it had appointed a local investigation, which was carried on throughout the Bukovina with unsparing severity by the dreaded assistant-judge *Stöckcr*. The last refuge which had been open to the unhappy and everywhere persecuted brotherhood seemed to be closed; into Turkey the metropolitan see could not be removed, out of regard to the Russian brethren; for these had declared that this was not to be ventured on, that it would wound the prejudices of the masses, and exasperate the Petersburg goverment to the utmost. Furnished with French recommendations, one of the bishops entered into a correspondence with *Cusa*, the newly elected Hospodar of the Danubian principalities, where an old-faith prelate, consecrated by Kyrill, was already resident. Altho' complete

religious freedom prevailed there, the regard which the Hospodar was compelled to pay to Russia rendered the formal transfer of the focus of the old-faith world to Moldo-Wallachia utterly impossible. The severity with which at first proceedings had been carried on in Byelocrinitz was after a time relaxed, and thus the minds of the people were calmed again; on the other hand dangerous divisions had broken out in the Moscow community, as the more tolerant bearing which the Russ government had begun to observe soon after the accession of Alexander II. strengthened a large party in their aversion to being under a 'foreign' Chief-Pastor, and in their intention to break off all connexion with him, even at the price of a reconciliation with the government. Pafnuty, a Russian by birth, who had been highly esteemed at Byelocrinitz, and had belonged to the heads of the sect, travelled as far as Moscow to settle this internal dispute. As he considered it impossible, after the late events in the Bukovina, to maintain the position there, and to carry on permanently from Byelocrinitz the direction of a community whose main centre was after all in Russia; he appeared not disinclined to enter into negociations with the government of the young Emperor, whose liberalism was everywhere extolled. The Moscow communities had collected the sum of 250,000 silver rubles (one million of francs), and hoped, with the help of this, to purchase the support of influential persons, and to be able to effect the formal acknowledgment of the old faith hierarchy. But the deputation which was sent under Pafnuty's direction to the Imperial palace returned without having obtained their object: — a way of deliverance seemed nowhere to be found.

The epoch at which these latter events occurred was that of the power which Alexander Herzen exercised in Russia. His name was on the lips of all; even the com-

monest man, who troubled himself but little about the press and literature, had heard somewhat of the great London agitator, whose strictly forbidden journal was read by the Emperor and by the highest dignitaries; from whom nothing could be hidden; who feared nothing; who had already overthrown many a power; and who lived only for *one* idea — that of the freedom of the Russian people. Herzen's really considerable influence was exaggerated in the popular opinion into something fabulous; and the mass of the people believed, in all seriousness that whoever stood under the protection of *this* man was sheltered and secure against all arbitrary power: — for, had it not occurred that whole provinces had in secret addresses, implored his protection, or his support of petitions submitted by them, to the government? In their distress and oppression the old believers then resolved to have recourse to this protector of the oppressed and persecuted. As they knew that Herzen was the possessor of a 'free' Russian printing-house, and as they themselves suffered from the want of books of a religious character,* they purposed, in the first place, applying to the London agitator to undertake the printing of their catechisms and devotional books. This idea gradually extended into the plan to transplant the old-faith metropolitan see, endangered as it was in Austria, to London — to the soil of free England, and there to establish churches and schools, which should be placed under the protection of Alexander Herzen. Emanating from London, the 'true faith' was to take possession of the supremacy which of

* Russian writings of a religious character might only be published in Russia with the sanction of the synod, the highest orthodox church-authority. With the aversion of the sectaries to the clergy of the ruling church, the thought of obtaining the requisite *imprimatur* from the synod was reckoned an heretical abomination.

right belonged to it, and, with the help of the influential ruler of Russian public opinion, it was to bring about a radical remodelling of existing circumstances.

In November 1861, Pafnuty travelled to London on behalf of the Moscow body of elders, and actually entered into negociation with the Russian emigrants. The mediator between the monk, prejudiced by his narrow religious ideas, who represented old Russia in its rudest aspect, and the atheistic representative of the utterly cosmopolitan and revolutionary young Russia, was an author well known as the historian of the old-faith sects, and of the detail of their sufferings, namely, Kélssiev. Herzen, who had long reckoned on drawing this sect, important as it was from the great number of its adherents, into the service of the revolution, courteously received the remarkable stranger, and paid all conceivable regard to the religious prejudices of this odd saint; — for instance, never venturing to smoke in his presence (smoking being regarded as a sin by the adherents of the old faith). Bakunin also, who had, thirteen years before, fought beside Olympius on the barricades of Prague, took part in the conference. Slight as was the worldly culture of the monk, who lived exclusively in the ideas and interests of his sect, he soon remarked that the spirit which swayed the London emigrants was too different from that which ruled his religious body to render even a temporary union possible. Especially the bold cynicism of Bakunin, who scarcely attempted to conceal his contempt for all religion, humming liturgical hymns like opera songs in Pafnuty's presence, wounded the ascetic monk to the quick. But even in Herzen, whose writings he had begun to study, he could place no confidence. He had, indeed, some of the manuscripts he had brought with him printed in the 'free' printing office of his new acquaintance; but he soon started

on his return, without having come to any definite agreement. Having again reached Moscow, he declared to the 'Brethren' that a fellowship of the righteous with the frivolous, materialistic London worldlings was impossible, and that the common aversion of both to the intolerance of the government was not a sufficient basis for their co-operation.

All attempts which Herzen subsequently made to come to an agreement with Pafnuty and his friends remained without result; in vain an organ was established in London for the support of the interests of the old ritualists; in vain Kelssiev, who came secretly to Moscow, exposed himself to the greatest dangers in order to bring about a league against the common adversary; the simple monk and merchants with whom he treated appealed to their religious scruples, and opposed his offers with an obstinate *non possumus*. At the same time with Kelssiev, there sojourned in Moscow a certain Paulus, the head of the old-faith community in Russia, whose ancestor had in the 18th century settled in the neighbourhood of Gumbinnen, and had been noted for their obstinate adherence to the usages of their fathers. This Paulus, who stood in the odor of sanctity, and was known for and wide among all sectaries, was just now negociating in Petersburg for the return of his family to Russia. In spite of all the attempts of Kelssiev to gain him for the support of his plans, it was this Paulus who quite especially warned from all fellowship with the godless, and denounced all participation on the part of the communities in political intrigues. 'It has been our lot to suffer for two centuries' (he said); 'let us see that we save our souls, and not sin against the anointed, whom God has placed in the rule over us.' Kelssiev returned back to London without having gained his end; the sectaries, however, began anew

to turn their attention to Byelocrinitz. The total change which had been effected in the Austrian state since the war in Italy seemed also advantageous to the cause of their metropolitan see, especially as the relations of Russian subjects to it no longer met with the former difficulties, and the Russian government had for some time ignored the connexion between Moscow and Byelocrinitz. Encouraged by the increasing connivance of the government, the elders assembled at the Rogosch cemetery in the autumn of 1862, issued a monition to the metropolitan, Kyrill, to come to Russia, to become better acquainted with the local communities, and to smoothe away by his personal presence the last difficulties that lay in the way of his general and unconditional acknowledgment.

In reply to the invitation thus sent from Moscow, Kyrill, the metropolitan of Byelocrinitz, provided, as was usual with a false passport, started in December 1862 for Petersburg and Moscow. Everywhere received with reverence by his colleagues in-the-faith, he arrived, at the end of January, in the old city of the Tzars. In February 1863, in a building situated in the Rogosch cemetery at Moscow, a 'general council' was held, composed, under the direction of the metropolitan, of all the bishops and elders of the old-faith communities of the hierarchical 'Observance' living in Russia; which decreed the subordination of the Russ believers under the metropolitan of Byelocrinitz, worked out and drew up a statute regarding church administration, and elected an archbishop for Russia, who was to be, as it were, the *locum tenens* of the metropolitan. Every thing seemed to be prosperous; for the first time for three centuries the hierarchy of the sects was completely organised; and, in a remarkable manner, the usually watchful government ignored everything that had happened at the dreaded cemetery,

hitherto incessantly observed by the Police; altho' the arrival of the chief Shepherd from the Bukovina could not have remained a secret. It was the Metropolitan's own fault that the great work of peace was endangered before it had arrived at a conclusion. It had been agreed to appoint an archbishop of the whole of Russia, as a *locum tenens* for the Metropolitan. The archbishop elected by the council did not seem to Kyrill sufficiently to be depended on, because he shewed from the first desires for independence; and so it was that Kyrill only confirmed him provisionally. This measure, which had been preceded by other marks of arbitrary will on the part of the Chief Shepherd, called forth violent opposition from the prelates assembled in Moscow. They issued a protest, in which they warned their superior against deviations from the statutes of the fathers, and strongly defended the right of the council, and of the communities therein represented. Kyrill endeavored to ignore this protest, and refused it official validity; and violent and passionate scenes occurred in consequence, so that the unity of the sect seemed endangered, and the metropolitan threatened to depart. If we remember that all the persons forming the so-called council belonged to the lower classes of society; that the prejudices of the sects rendered all participation in modern culture impossible; that the great mass of believers were under the control of a few rich merchants, whose authority principally rested on their obstinate adherence to the old faith and their aversion to European civilisation; that, lastly, the bishops and high ecclesiastics, who especially suffered the regardless persecution of the government, were, as a rule, desperate subjects of doubtful reputation, bankrupt shopkeepers, dissolute priests excluded from the ruling church, and even deserters from the army; if we remember all this, we shall be able to gain some ap-

proximate idea of the tone and spirit in which the discussions of this council were carried on.

The confusion which had been produced by the disputes we have mentioned was soon to increase in an unexpected manner. The Polish Lithuanian revolt had just broken out, and had called forth an excitement in the minds of men, which, thanks to the agitation of the young Moscow press, had increased to a degree of national enthusiasm, such as has never been witnessed since the war with France in 1812, and which, in its resistless current, carried away even the old believers. The political heads among the leading members of the community, seeing the perplexity of the government, and the threatening foreign intervention on behalf of the rebels, imagined that the moment had come for a reconciliation, and resolved to attempt it at any price. They, therefore, who had formerly kept carefully aloof from all contact with the organs of the (in their eyes) heretical government, and had incurred the suspicion of neither acknowledging this, nor the Emperor, enquired in secret of General Tutchkov, the governor-general of Moscow, whether it would be received with satisfaction if they submitted a loyal address to his Majesty in the name of all their fellow believers. Tutchkov, who could scarcely believe his ears on receiving these unexpected news, enquired in St. Petersburg, and received an assenting answer. On these tidings, the resolution of the influential elders of the assembly was quickly taken. On the 28th February 1863, a greater number of influential members of the community presented a detailed memorial to the episcopal council still sitting, in which they requested the bishops, in consideration of the suspicion which intercourse with foreigners, such as the metropolitan, might awaken in the present unquiet period, and also in consideration of the fact that his majesty the Emperor, on ac-

count of the Polish insurrection now raging, had a special claim on the unconditional devotion and loyalty of all true subjects, to effect the immediate departure of the Most Reverend Metropolitan from Russia, and, for some time at least, to suspend his relations with the Russian communities. The bishops, already exasperated against the metropolitan, took occasion from this manifesto to urge Kyrill to depart; and nothing was left to him but to quit his ground after the appointment of a temporary representative. Encouraged by these rapid successes, those who were aiming at a reconciliation with the government, went rapidly on still further. They submitted an address to the Emperor, in which he was assured that 'the old believers of the hierarchical 'observance' adhered indeed with unshaken fidelity to the institutions and customs of their fathers, but were nevertheless strictly loyal subjects, who were ready to shed their last drop of blood for throne and country. The effect which this declaration produced throughout the whole Russian empire was greater than the 'old-believers' had themselves supposed, and justified their expectations in every respect.

The government could not, it is true, out of regard for the orthodox clergy, agree to a formal recognition of the sectarian religious body and its clergy; but it did what seemed possible and feasible under the existing circumstances. The governors of the provinces, the police, and the government officials were privately instructed to treat the 'old-believers' with kindness and forbearance; the exclusion of their children from the public seminaries was also quietly abolished, and the acknowledgment of marriages solemnised, from time to time, by 'old faith' priests was no longer refused. The adherents of the old ritual now went a step further: in March there appeared an 'encyclical message' addressed 'to all the dear children of the one holy,

universal, apostolical, orthodox *(old right believing)*, and Catholic church'; which declared that, for the old believers of hierarchical Observance, there existed no ground, dogmatically, for hatred and hostility against the Greek orthodox church; but that the hierarchical sects were inwardly far more nearly connected with it than with the restless anomistic sects, to which they were linked merely by the bond of common disapproval of the patriarch Nicon, and by common martyrdom. After a detailed statement of those points in which they accorded with the ruling church, the message concluded with wishes for mutual tolerance and brotherly love in future.

This document, which was drawn up by a recluse, named *Hilarion Jegorov* of Polossa, is of the greatest importance to the history of the old-faith hierarchical sects; and, with the close connexion of all the members of these bodies, it could not fail to play as great a part in the Bukovina and on the Bosporus as on the banks of the Moscwa, the Don, and the icy shores of the White Sea. It contains a direct and express condemnation and anathema of Herzen, of the London emigrants, and of the impious and revolutionary doctrines by which these 'sons of the impious Voltaire' had threatened to overthrow the state and the church of Russia.

The 'encyclical message' has found no less numerous adherents than exasperated adversaries, — the latter, especially in Turkey, and among the rude and fanatical masses in Moscow; it was repeatedly condemned and rejected by the 'council' and by the metropolitan; was again, as circumstances altered, wholly or partially acknowledged, but it was no longer to be done away with. Its principal effect was the sundering of that unity and subordination of all the communities under the metropolitan of Byelocrinitz, which

had been established with such difficulty; this subordination is now acknowledged only by the smaller part of the Russian old faith bishops, while it is rejected by the greater number; the disunion of sectarian organisation is visibly on the increase; distinguished members of the hierarchical sects, among them all three bishops as well as many of the lower clergy, passed over in the spring and summer of last year with whole crowds of their disciples to the 'rite of the united in faith' (a variety of the Greek orthodox church which is acknowledged by the state, and based on the principles of the church, but has adopted certain ritual usages belonging to the 'old believers') — in short the political importance of the papacy of Byelocrinitz is at an end. The old-faith view or orthodoxy has ceased to be a weapon of political propagandism; and in spite of the fact that colleagues of Herzen have endeavored, up to the most recent times, to make Byelocrinitz the central point of an agitation, the object of which is to remove the focus of the schismatic party to the Bukovina or to Turkey, and in this way to create a pan-Slavonic movement *against* Russia, the relations of the party to the London emigrants and to the Polish fugitives in Turkey no longer exist, or play no part. In vain has Kelssiev, one of the most distinguished leaders of the London revolutionary league, removed his residence to Turkey, and endeavored to establish a printing office and a journal in opposition to Russian influence. The odium of heretical and unchristian views which clings to him has from the first deprived him of the possibility of success, and he has been compelled to see even the Necrassov Cosàcs, who formed the body-guard in the Polish intrigues against Russia, enter into secret negociations with the Petersburg cabinet, and seriously preparing to return to the home forsaken by their ancestors,—to holy '*Russia*'. Kelssiev himself, weary of the

homeless life of a fugitive, returned to Russia in the summer of 1867, and has concluded peace with the government. In return for the immunity from punishment granted him, he has discovered to the Russian government the secrets of his former colleagues, and all the transactions referring to Byelocrinitz.

Thus the last decisive stroke, dealt by the *Raskol* against the ruling church of Russia, has become the destruction of the sect itself which dealt it, and the government of Alexander II. can boast of having obtained a triumph over the schismatics of the old faith, such as is scarcely to be met with in the annals of his predecessors. The undertaking of Tzaycovski, and of the other patrons of the archbishopric of Byelocrinitz, is, at the same time, the only energetic attempt made to gain over pan-Slavism to the anti-Russian interest. The idea which the Polish emigrants pursued, in the establishment of the metropolitan see of Byelocrinitz, was, at the time it was conceived, from a Polish point of view, to be called highly successful; the church-schism, which made millions of Russian subjects, and among them a great part of the warlike Cosàc race, enemies to the government, was, especially at the times of the intolerant old régime, one of the sorest evils in the Russian state, and to start an agitation by the removal of the ecclesiastical and political focus of the Slavonic world to the lower Danube, was a most short-sighted undertaking. The Russian church schism, the incarnation, as it were, of the national aversion to the Cesarian papacy (or papal supremacy of the Tzar) and to the west-European civilisation imported by Peter the Great, had been employed no less for political objects, ever since the days of Pugatchev, the bold Cosàc chief, who (probably in league with the Poles) in the days of Catherine II., raised the standard of revolt

against the ruling system, and who received inexhaustible resources from his old-faith brethren. And for all that, this schism afforded revolutionary material better than aught that could be desired! It was just in the limitation of these sects to the lowest classes, inaccessible to all elements of intellect and culture, and in the mystery which surrounded their leader, that their power lay; and it seemed at all times more than probable that the confusion of ideas in the circles swayed by them could be turned to purposes of political revolution. A religious community, more numerous than the whole population of many of the central states of Europe; holding views which are ruggedly, irreconcilably opposed to modern circumstances, Russian as well as non-Russian; from which every cultivated man is, as a matter of course, excluded; and which is led and ruled over in the most unlimited manner by secret superiors, who pass for harmless merchants and artisans; which extends its ramifications from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, and from the deserts of Siberia to the streets of Constantinople; and which is yet scarcely known by name: a more dangerous combustible material than such an association can scarcely be pointed out in any other European state.

That, nevertheless, the employment of this inflammatory influence has never passed beyond mere *attempts*, that even this last undertaking only served to strengthen Russian power, and to bring about a reconciliation of the government with its hitherto dangerous foe, is, according to our opinion, to be explained by two circumstances, — namely, by the helplessness of the Slavonians out of Russia, who, whenever they made the attempt to associate themselves with western interests, were always frustrated, found everywhere closed doors, and at length were obliged to return to the great empire of the East; and secondly, by the fact, that

they were far better and more accurately informed in Russia respecting the affairs of West-Europe, than the people therewere of Russian affairs. If Russia, at the time of the Eastern war, had been in a position to draw from a religious society living in the enemy's land the same advantage which was afforded to the Porte and her allies by the bishopric of Byelocrinitz, and by the old-believers' exasperation against the old system of persecution, — the result would certainly have been very different.

We have entered into detail respecting the archbishopric of Byelocrinitz, — altho' it only forms an episode in the history of the Russian sects and concerns only a part of these, — because the history of this see is more instructive, as regards the character and peculiarities of the schism, than any theoretic details could have been, and because it formed an epoch in the history of the whole *Raskol*, not even excluding the priest*less* branch of it. The Russ government has remained true to its tolerant bearing towards the sects, ever since the old-believers' address in April 1863, which forms the real turning point. It is true, no direct acknowledgment of these church communities has been, or could be hitherto resolved on, both out of regard to the prejudices of the clergy, and from the consciousness that the national sympathies in favor of the schismatics are as yet too strong to be with impunity brought within the way of temptation. According to a practice which is constantly to be met with in other departments of Russian politics, these sects are patiently and ostensibly ignored. The adherents of the old-faith are permitted to establish schools (and this applies even to the more moderate of the dangerous priestless sects), but it is expressly forbidden to mention these 'old-faith' schools; for the principle of the non-acknowledgment of the Raskol may not be overlooked. It is permitted that the teachers in these

schools may be sectaries, if so be, sectarian clergy; but to what confession they belong may on no account be acknowledged. It is the same also with the school books, which lack the prescribed, but to the old-faith folk repulsive *imprimatur* of the synod; but the non-church character of which remains unmentioned in the official school plans.

The permission for re-opening the old-believers' common schools, which, 30 years ago, were closed by order of the government, is among the most beneficent acts of the present government; for, by it, millions of children, who would otherwise have infallibly grown up in ignorance, rudeness, and immorality, have the means afforded them of becoming civilised men and useful state citizens. The misery entailed on the generation which had grown up subsequently to the prohibition of the schools, was greater than can be imagined: no old-believer could send his child to an orthodox or government school without exposing him to the danger of a forced conversion; his own schools were closed, and even private teachers were on all sides hunted out by the police. Not unjustly has a recent, and withal official, Russian author said that, compared with the prohibition of the instruction of old-believers' children, even the murder of the innocents at Bethlehem appeared a humane and philanthropic measure.

The tolerance of the Russian government towards the adherents of the old ritual would probably, judging by the experience afforded us since 1863, have gone still further, had not various disturbing considerations prevailed. One of these may be traced to the circumstance that the numerically influential priest*less* sects had been too closely linked for centuries with the hierarchical communities by a common fate, and by their equally legal, or rather illegal, position, for them to be wholly excluded from the concessions

made to the latter; and also that, at that very time, a considerable part of them professed principles dangerous, and even hostile, to the state, such as to render any transaction with them impossible. Sects such as those of the *Skoptzi* (Eunuchs), the *Sóshigatcli* (Self-burners), and those *Straniki* (Wanderers) who avoid all contact with the world as contamination, who consider the state as the kingdom of Antichrist, and regard flight from the real business of life as the one means of saving the soul, make any recognition by the state, in itself, impossible. So long, however, as there is no possibility of concluding terms of peace with both these types of schism at once, there can be no hope either of rendering them harmless or eradicating them altogether: any concession made to the one group of sectaries is instantly laid hold of to the benefit of the others. The main difficulty which opposes the tolerant view of the government is, however, to be traced to the present condition of the Greek orthodox clergy. They are such fanatical adversaries of the whole Raskol that they conceive every concession, and even every toleration, of the sectaries as an insult to the church, and, to the damage of the government, who is compelled to pay regard to national prejudices, represent it in this sense to the dependent and ignorant classes of the nation. Even at the time of the old *régime*, inexorable as it was against the sectaries, it had been the rule in every Russian province for the governor, as the representative of the state, to wage war with the bishop or eparchial authorities touching the treatment of the old-faith folk; and he was generally suspected and challenged by these as a promoter of misdemeanors hostile to the church. Equally so fared the gens-d'armes officers in the provinces, who, as representatives of the secret police, had to keep direct surveillance over the sectaries, and whenever,

for the sake of peace and order, they desired to protect these from unwarrantable acts of violence, they fell into conflict with the clergy. Even the concessions made since 1863, such as toleration of the old-believers' common schools, exercises of devotion, recognition of their marriages as regards inheritance,* &c., were in most places only with difficulty carried out, and not until the organs of the state appeared inclined to take up the matter seriously. Unless the government will risk bringing on itself difficulties and disputes of the most dangerous as well as painful kind, it can only proceed very slowly and gradually along the path it has recently adopted. It is characteristic in this respect that the position of the old-faith sectaries in the Protestant and Catholic provinces is far more favorable than in Russia Proper, where the orthodox clergy are more influential, and the prejudices of the populace come to be taken into account.

Lastly, and this is the most important point, the government cannot yet return to a purely peaceful contest with the schism, — a contest waged with the weapons of the mind, — because the Greek clergy are not in a condition to undertake such a contest with any prospect of success. Complaints are raised, moreover, that the schism to this day is always making fresh progress, wherever opportunity is afforded it for freedom of action. When a Moscow journal, in the spring of last year, demanded complete freedom for all confessions, and the abolition of all the restrictions imposed on the non-

* As we have mentioned above, some sects reject marriage entirely, while others acknowledge it; and if they belong to the hierarchical type, they have the ceremony performed by their clergy; if not, by their elders. As the law recognises none of these communities, those marriages which have been contracted without the presence of an orthodox clergyman are reckoned as concubinage, and the children proceeding from such marriages are regarded as illegitimate and incapable of inheritance.

orthodox, Pogodin, one of the most fanatical and self-sufficient adherents of the national party and of Byzantinism, replied in his paper, '*the Russ*', that this was not to be ventured on; for that infallibly the higher classes of society would fall victims to the propagandist zeal of Catholic abbès, and the masses to the irresistible attractive power of the old ritualistic sects! Thus, a reform in the bosom of the Greek orthodox church, and in its own clerical body, appears one of the most pressing demands of the time, and of primary interest to the Russian state. As a truly victorious accomplishment of the abolition of serfdom will be only possible when the Russian clergy have been made willing and capable to undertake the work of popular education; so the spiritual and intellectual conquest of the great Russian church schism, and the abrogation of the laws which render the adherents of it dangerous, revolutionary material, are only to be hoped for when there is a truly cultivated class of clergy in Russia. Until that goal is reached, even the much upbraided *Cæsaro-papism*, constituting the Russ Tzar absolute, supreme, and *quasi papal* head of the church of his Empire, and the consequent dependence of the church on the state and person of the Emperor, is not to be avoided; for the all-prevailing ground of State-necessity, outweighing even the specifically church-interests at stake, — unwholesome as may be its working in some points of detail, and much as it may be tempted to misapply the religious movement to political results, — leaves this the only power strong enough to work out the great end of such deep and earnest longing and endeavor, the Reform in the Russian Church. The primary questions at this moment pressing for solution, — liberation of the secular clergy from the dominion of the Monastic body, improvement in the material and social position of the 'white' clergy, demolition of the bar-

riers which make the clergy an isolated class, — a caste quite alienated from the people, lastly, the remodelling of clerical educational establishments in the sense of modern culture, — but for the state interest which presses for them, and the state power which alone can carry them out, — might possibly, for yet another century, belong to the list of pious wishes. If, however, they are to gain triumphant recognition and to help the Greek church to actual victory over the sects; then one more condition will certainly be indispensable; then the government must give up the policy which aims at the extirpation of Catholicism and Protestantism, and wishes to remove these churches from their old seats on the Düna and the Vistula; then the contradiction must cease, that the Greek church should be treated in *one* half of the empire as a handmaid wanting culture, and in the other half as the born ruler over the religion and civilisation of Western Europe.

The Russian Baltic Provinces.

I.

Forming, as it were, the common frontier line between the powerful territories of the western and the Slavonic eastern recess, a narrow strip of land extends along the 43d° (from Faroe = 36° Greenwich) East longitude, inhabited by races of the most different kinds, for the most part, subject to the Russian sceptre, and constituting a world of their own, the various abnormal circumstances of which are almost as little known in the western half of Europe as they are in the eastern. The common family characteristic of this group is the aristocratic nature of their civilisation, which, owing to irreconcilable ethnographical contrasts, assumes a different aspect in each, and yet is everywhere the same. While to the east and west of this complex race we find compact masses of people, who, formed into great states, afford a picture of close nationalities; within this territory we meet with the irreconcilable *duality* of ruling and subject races, who, placed under the power of a *third* people, present problems of the most difficult and almost unsolvable character to the far-seeing adherent of the principle of nationality. Bounded on the north by the White Sea, and on the south by the Transylvanian Alps, lying between 47°

and 39° (= 40° and 22° Gr.) East longitude) this narrow and long strip of land seems chosen to form the battle-field of those contests in which Teutonic and Romanic civilisation wrestles with the Slavonic for the dominion of the country, declared by the one to be the bulwark of the west, and by the other, the vanguard of that Slavonic race, destined to rule the world. There are *three* different territories, which form a chain under this degree of longitude: a *Swedish*, a *German*, and a *Polish*-Lithuanian territory, which, forming altogether the western frontier of the Russian empire, are in themselves as different as they are alien, by historical and ethnographical peculiarities, from the race which has incorporated them into its state. In all three, in Finland as well as in Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland, and in Lithuania and Galicia, a passionate strife, tho' scarcely observed by the rest of Europe, exists at the present day as to whether supremacy belongs to the numerically weaker race, representing the element of civilisation, or to the plebeian majority, who possess the moral and mental civilisatian received from the former. Nor is it at present to be seen when the termination of this strife will occur, or to whom the victory will fall; indeed it appears doubtful who is to give the decisive verdict.

Each of the three territories of which we have spoken has its own country in the rear, on which it rests morally and intellectually, if not politically: Finland is a Scandinavian; Lithuania, a Polish; and Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland, a German colony. But the relations between the outposts and the main army are not everywhere alike. While north, across the Finland gulf, and south, beyond the Nyémen, the intercourse between the mother country and the colony is carried on with energy; while interest in the affairs of Finland plays at least as great a part in Swedish

life as that taken in those of Denmark; while Poles, and Polish Lithuanians, have regarded each other for centuries as an ever-more-connected brother race; the old Livonian land of the Teutonic order, and the soil whereon for four long centuries the German blood has flowed, is lost to the memory of the German people, and indeed to that of Western Europe. And yet, the Baltic *German* provinces of Russia have a much greater right to be regarded as the bulwark against Russia, than can attach to the Polish provinces.

The Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire, Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland (designated during the middle ages by the collective name of Livland or Livonia) formed, from the XIIIth to the XVth century, a federative state, which acknowledged the Roman-German Emperor and the Pope as its paramount lords and supreme heads. In the year 1159 discovered anew, for the west of Europe, by Bremen Merchants, the Baltic coast soon became the rendez-vous of German knights, priests, and merchants, whose number increased so rapidly, in consequence of the religious zeal with which their plans, at once of mission and of conquest, were supported in Germany, that the original inhabitants of the country (the *Esths*, *Letts*, *Cures* and *Livs*) were obliged, even in the middle of the XIIIth century, to acknowledge the foreigners as lords of the country. The true founder of this young and rapidly formed state was Bishop *Albrecht* of Buxhövden, the founder of Riga (1202), an ecclesiastic of great wisdom and strong will, who was the first to unite into a whole the scattered and almost disconnected groups of emigrants. Five bishoprics, Riga, Dorpat, Oesel, Curland, and Lemgallen, and the Livonian order of the Sword, shared the dominion of the land the possession of which they only with difficulty maintained in sharp and almost uninterrupted contest both with the previous inhabitants, with Russians, Lithuanians,

and Danes landed on the south shores of the Finland gulf. Forcibly converted to Christianity, and subjected to the yoke of hard serfdom, the Letts and Esths labored to regain their lost freedom by continual bloody revolts; but their reckless valor could do nothing against the regular military tactics of the iron-mailed Saxons (so the immigrants were called by the conquered), and the end of every such attempt was but the strengthening of the oppression, which, according to the ideas of the age, was the right of the conqueror. But even during the early part of the XIIIth century, the influx from the mother country ceased; and when the power of the order of the Sword *(fraternitas militiae Christi)* had been broken thro' loss of a battle fought with the on-pressing Lithuanians, the remnant saw themselves obliged to summon to their aid the knights of the *Teutonic* order, by the inducement of Duke Conrad brought from Masovia and settled in East Prussia. After tedious negociations, through the co-operation of Gregory IX, the wished-for union of the two orders took place at Viterbo, in the year 1237; a new Livonian branch of the German order was established under the rule of a *Magister provincialis*, elected at first by the whole brotherhood, and subsequently by the Livonian provincial chapter. The German colony on the Riga gulf was saved from the ruin threatening it, but only at the price of a fatal political error, which sowed in the furrows of the young colony the seeds of inextinguishable discord, and of final destruction. The Teutonic Grand Master (thus it was decreed in 1237), as heir of the order of the Sword, held the Livonian order-lands in fee from the bishop of Riga (raised to be archbishop in 1255), a connexion the incongruity of which is most sriking, if we consider the mighty power of the order, and the weakness of the bishop and his brethren, the bishops of Oesel, Dorpat, Curland, and subsequently

Revel, who were supported exclusively by their few and moreover self-willed vassals. In the Pruss provinces of the same order the relation was reversed; for the bishops of Kulm, Samland, and Ermeland were in dependence on the order, and possessed only a third of the land. The relations between the order and the bishops, lastly, reached a pitch of the most perfect inconsistency when Prussia and Livonia were united into one eparchy, and were placed under the Riga archbishop, who, in this manner, became in Livonia the feudal lord, and in Prussia the vassal, of the order.

In the first century of Livonian life, the power rested almost exclusively in the hands of the lords of the land; soon, however, and especially on account of the quarrels in which they consumed their power, the noble vassal and the citizens of the larger cities sprung up into a power which could no longer be excluded from a share in the government. From the end of the XIIIth century, the vassals of the several territories formed confederations with each other; a short time after, they became constitutional estates, and sent delegates to the diets; at which the bishops and grand masters, their feudal lords, discussed the common affairs of the state. This love of confederation was a heritage which the conquerors of Livonia had brought with them from their native soil; the mighty power of which was to survive all political combinations, and to form the basis of the public life of the Baltic provinces even at the present day. In Esthonia, the Danish colony purchased by the order in the year 1346, the vassals first arrived at power and influence, which they knew how to obtain from the feeble Danish kingdom, beset as it was with constant difficulties; their example was followed by the knights of the episcopal lands, whose spiritual rulers urgently needed the vassals to help them in fighting out their quarrels with the order: — the order itself was

powerful and warlike enough to be able to do without its liege men, who, therefore, only later enjoyed the privileges which their brethren in the episcopal lands had partaken of for years.

We cannot here enter into a detailed account of the various contests in which the bishoprics and orders shed their heart's blood,and expended their best powers. In its character, this civil war, which for centuries devastated the remotest colony of the German Empire, was a reflection of that giant-war, which, at about the same time, at the foot of the Alps, was convulsing the world — the opposition between the Emperor and the Papacy was, under another name, fought out on the lowlands of the Düna, the Embach, and the sacred Aa. If the order cannot be regarded as the direct representative of the empire, it was in Livonia the representative of temporal power; its authority rested chiefly on the Emperor; from him emanated its privileges and from him proceeded the imperial dignity of the grand master; and to the Emperor appeal was made by the German lords, if the archbishop threatened them with papal bulls.

The German order came forth as victor from the contest; but this victory was not complete enough to reconcile the opposing principles that had called forth the war, or to resolve them into a higher unity. Beneath the ashes, the old dispute was smouldering, and the picture of discord which the whole of Livonia, at the beginning of the XVIth century, presented, was faithfully reflected in each separate department. The bishop disputed with his chapter, his chapter disputed with the vassals; the defiance, lawlessness, and immorality of the knights of the orders, rendered wild by constant warfare, caused trouble to the grand-master; the cities, especially Dorpat and the proud aspiring Riga, sought to derive the utmost advantage from the quarrels of

their rulers, and would gladly have acknowledged no other supremacy than that of the Hanseatic league, which they had long joined. Everywhere territorial or political assumption stifled the consciousness of mutual interests, — the same German malady which had disturbed the power and greatness of the mother country raged within the northern colony. Owing to the extreme remoteness from the central points of civilisation and the powerlessness of the imperial rule, there could be no idea of any civilising influence. It is true the cities, and there were many in Livonia, rose to luxurious prosperity under Plettenberg's peaceful sceptre; it is true, in unrestrained love of pleasure and sensual enjoyment the colonists revelled in endless festivities, which surpassed in dissoluteness everything known to the wild pleasures of the period; but the heart of the country was sick unto death. Carried to a pitch of extreme rigor, the feudal system checked all healthful constitutional development; while Russians, Swedes, Poles, and Lithuanians had stood at the gates of the land, ready for war and greedy of conquest, the vigor of their sons subsided in dissolute pleasures and endless disputes; every man's hand was against his neighbour's, and the heroic form of the Grand Master alone formed a central point for opposing interests. With him the old worn-out confederation sank into the grave. When the Lutheran church-reformation, rapidly spread by Tegetmeyer and Knöpken, had penetrated victoriously into the land, and rendered the continuance of the old forms of life impossible, it was Plettenberg alone who was able to restrain its destroying power; but over his grave the decaying structure fell to pieces with a crash. The age of the Grand-Masters (so the period of independence is usually designated in Livonia) had left its most important task uncompleted; the pride of the colonists, who gloried in the foolish consciousness that on

the Baltic soil the terms 'master' and 'German' were identical, had shrunk from the Germanising of the original inhabitants of the land, had left them to their old barbarism, and oppressed them to the lowest stage of human existence. In dull despair the indolent apathetic Lett bore the yoke of severe serfdorm, which the conquerors, in spite of papal bull and imperial decree, had laid upon him; while the sturdy, defiant Esth gnashed his teeth at the fetters in which the victor bound him. The proud structure on the Baltic Sea was built on tottering ground, and that which their ancestors had omitted to do could no longer be retrieved by their descendants.

Besides the Reformation, the inroad of a Russ-Tâtar army sent to Livland by Ivan the Terrible was the outward cause for the collapse of the old *régime*. The whole of the northern part of the land was soon in the hands of the dreadful foe. It was no ordinary war which the Livlander had to wage against Tâtar hordes, sent by the dreaded Tzar for the subjection of the defenceless land; it cannot be compared with the 30 years' war, but only with those Mongol inundations which, under Tchengis Khan, eradicated every trace of primeval civilisation in the flourishing lands of Central-Asia, and raged so fearfully that for a generation to come the course which the barbarians had taken was marked by ruins and heaps of corpses. Up to the present day, the number of the population of Livonia has not reached the height at which it stood previous to that invasion; and, at the close of the XVIth century, scarcely a fourth of the flourishing cities of the country were left. No resistance would have been possible to the superior power of the foe, even if the power of resistance had not been weakened from the first by the luxuriousness and demoralisation of those called to the defence. Simultaneously

with the Russian army, Swedish and Polish forces crossed the frontier of the old order-land; the only question was, to which of the intruders to submit. In vain the threatened nobles of the land addressed desperate petitions to the Emperor. The Emperor (Ferdinand I.), himself harassed at once with refractory princes and conquest-loving Turks, was deaf to the lowlanders' appeal for help; the memorial with which, at the request of the diet of Augsburg, he despatched an Imperial horseguard to the Tzar (1559), was as useless as was a subsequent Imperial mandate, ordered, but not even put in course of execution; it seemed, as if they wished to make the separation of the Livonians from the empire not too difficult a matter. In this extremity, and forsaken by all, *Gotthard Kettler*, the Grand Master of the Order, and the Archbishop of Riga, turned to the king of Poland, Sigismund Augustus; they mortgaged to him a considerable part of their territories for the sum of 160,000 florins; *Magnus*, Duke of Holstein, who subsequently placed himself under Russ protection as the phantom king of Livland, purchased at the same time the order-lands of Oesel (Curland and Revel). As, however, he was unable to afford any help to Esthland, heavily oppressed at it was by the Russians, the city of Revel, on the 4th July 1561, surrendered to Eric, king of Sweden; and its example was followed soon afterwards by all the Esthonian equestrian orders. This subjection of Esthland to a foreign sceptre was the signal for a complete dissolution of the Livonian confederacy. Southern Livland surrendered, in November 1561, to king Sigismund Augustus of Poland (Dorpat, however, remained in the hands of Russia till 1582); Curland became a Polish vassal-dukedom under Kettler; the city of Riga alone preserved its independence for 20 years, until it also was obliged to submit in January 1582, to the crown of Poland.

A solemn political treaty, the *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti, datum feria sexta post festum Sctae. Catharinae*, which, even at the present day, forms the most important basis of public affairs in Livland, was to guarantee for all time the security of the Lutheran faith, the German language, the hereditary right and self-government; and to protect these from danger; but was to maintain besides the feudal supremacy of the nobility, and their unlimited right over the peasantry.

If the Livlanders, by their subjection to the Polish crown, had promised themselves the end of their sufferings, protection from the enemy, and the preservation of the Sanctuaries of their Past, they were to be cruelly undeceived. More than half the 50 years of Polish rule passed amid bloody wars with Russia and Sweden, fought almost without exception on Livonian soil; and the country was more heavily oppressed than it had been even by the Russ Tâtar invasion. Under the lawless and unjust rule of Poland, there was no thought of any observance of the rights and privileges promised by the *Privilegium* of King Sigismund Augustus. The zeal of fanatical Jesuits effected the appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop over Livland; the Lutheran churches in Riga, Wenden, and Dorpat were changed into Catholic churches; and Lutheranism was degraded into the position of a merely tolerated heresy. In defiance of all stipulations, the country was divided among Polish and Lithuanian castellans; the guaranteed constitution was imperceptibly altered by repeated grants: rights and usages were trampled under foot: and serious indications manifested of 'chasing the *transmarines* across the sea whence they had come.' The unhappy land, as yet but partially civilised, seemed sinking backward past recovery into the night of its former barbarism; more miserable than ever was the

condition of the peasantry, impoverished as they were at once by hostile soldiers and Polish officials; the yoke of serfdom lay on them with double weight, owing to the impoverishment and brutalising of the nobles; the churches and schools fell into decacy; none of the few Protestant clergy left were sure of their lives; the cities were desolated and ruined by ever-recurring sieges; trade and industry stagnated; the highways and military roads, once carefully laid out by their rulers, were destroyed; — a condition of universal disruption took the place of the hitherto, at least, outward order. The change to a more endurable state of things was only to be rendered possible by the sufferings of a new war, of almost 30 years duration. — Sigismund III. of Poland and Sweden, having gone over to the Roman Catholic Church, was declared by the Swedish estates, in the year 1600, to have thereby forfeited the crown, and his uncle Charles IX. was elected, first as regent, and afterwards as King. The Swedo-Polish war of succession, which Gustavus Adolphus brought victoriously to an end, and which was fought, for the most part, in Livland, was the result of this change in the state. Already in 1602, the greater part of the Livland nobles were forced to do homage to Charles IX, who confirmed their privileges; in 1629, Livonia became a Swedish province; only the south-eastern districts of the country, with the prefectures of Dünaburg, Rositten, Lutzen and Marienhausen, remained to the Poles.

Esthland, as we know, had become Swedish, still earlier; and, under the humane sceptre of the Protestant princes of this kingdom, who carefully regarded the rights and nationalities of their new subjects, had found itself far better off than the more southern sister province, with which it was now again united. The most favored lot of all was, however, that of the duchy of Curland; whose wise prince,

Gotthard Kettler, had been able, with rare skill, to protect his subjects from Polish encroachments, and to keep them aloof from the continual war-struggles in the neighbouring lands. With the help of his excellent Chancellor *Salomon Henning*, the duke reorganised the administration of justice and the government of his small territory, and drew up an order of Church Service, which belonged to the best of its time. The peasant was far more favorably situated here than north of the Düna: a numerous and cultivated body of clergy laid the foundation of true civilisation; the prosperity of the nobles, the advantage of a milder climate, and the greater fertility of the soil; above all, the good example afforded by the Duke on his numerous domains, rendered the condition of the peasant at least endurable, in spite of the continuance of serfdom. Added to this, the state of things established in 1561 remained the same for 234 years, and Curland's independence only ceased in the year 1795. A peace, rarely interrupted, promoted agriculture and cattle breeding, and established a state of prosperity, which became in time so great that, according to the expression of a historian, even the Curland beggars in the 17th and 18th centuries drove two horses. But the want of freedom of the peasant serfs remained unchanged during the two hundred and fifty years of ducal rule, and made the blending of the different classes of the population impossible; while another evil of a still more serious kind, from the first rendered the duration and the future of Curland's condition questionable; namely, the want of an intelligent and independent middle class, a cultivated body of citizens. The nobility held such unlimited sway over all branches of public life, that the dukes were obliged to rely on them, and to give up all idea of the development of an actual constitution. The comparatively numerous towns were small and unimportant; their

inhabitants lacked the patriotism based on the consciousness of their own worth, such as had been developed on the other side of the Düna as fully as in Germany; and they never stepped beyond the care for their own immediate interests. The state of commerce was extremely insignificant; trade was supported by the requirements of the barons; the rank of citizen was represented by one class, the 'literati,' *i. e.* learned civilians, who, as preachers, physicians, lawyers, &c., formed a special class. It was no wonder that the self-importance of the nobles, lacking all counterbalance, became boundless; and that the citizens of Curland have not yet arrived at laying the foundation of an equal and independent existence.

But we must return to Livland, the centre and the victim of the triune German colony. The nearly hundred years of Swedish rule in this country are, by the accession of Charles XI., divided into two portions; one, a period, in many respects, of blessing; the other, of unhappiness and suffering, almost worse than that of the Polish period. At first, there was no end of rejoicing that they had escaped the terrible Polish rule, and had entered into a Protestant alliance. Livonia had indeed to thank Gustavus Adolphus that it was restored to the influence of civilisation, and was snatched from a state of barbarism. The first care of the wise and large-hearted prince was the restoration of the Lutheran church-system, which was on the brink of destruction. The churches lay in ruins, the schools in the country had been closed within the memory of man; for, as clergy were everywhere lacking, the knowledge of the *pure* doctrine was as little to be found among the peasants as morality and chastity. Here the great King interfered with all the energy of his powerful will. Happily for the country he introduced the Swedish ritual, the principles of which

have remained in force up to the present day, and have secured to the Lutheran church of Livland a firm basis for all time. The king next turned his attention to the administration of justice, which he likewise remodelled and brought into established order; according to Sigismund Augustus' *Privilegium*, the noble chose both his own and the peasants' judges and administrative officers, and the citizen remained under the town magistrates; both, however, were under the authority of the state, which took care of the public interest, and watched over the legality of those elected. The greatest service, however, done by the Swedish reign was the establishment, at Dorpat, of a Protestant college or university, and two gymnasiums (1632), and a thorough remodelling of the still hard condition of the peasants. With none of the political tasks at which they labored, both in Livland and Esthland, did Gustavus Adolphus and his successors proceed so earnestly as with the limitation of serfdom, and with the establishment of worthier agrarian institutions. The peasant-class (such was the aim of the descendants of Vasa) was, in Livland also, to form the basis of their power, and to act, in common with the cities, as a counterbalance to the nobles. For the first time were all the manors of Livonia and Esthonia accurately suroeyed, and a regulation drawn up, which settled the services of the peasants in a fixed proportion to the soil assigned them for their use; and the maximum of the demands appertaining to the lord might under no circumstances be exceeded. At the same time the patrimonial jurisdiction of the proprietor was limited, and his previous authority over the tenantry, of life and death, restricted to the exercise of domestic discipline. In consequence of the nothern war, however, the vast plans which the Swedish kings entertained for the gradual abolition of serfdom, were never carried out.

Unfortunately, this period of the blessed influence of the state authority on the decayed condition of Livonia was of only limited duration: the constant financial distress of the Swedish crown, drove Charles XI. to a *coup d'état*, of which the baseness almost counterbalanced all the blessings for which Livland was indebted to the ancestors of this despotic and brutal prince: — we mean that measure which, under the pretext of the *defective* titles of the lords of the manors, confiscated almost $^5/_6$ of all the Livonian estates to the exchequer, and reduced hundreds of noble families to beggary. The application, to the provinces beyond the Baltic, of the law of reduction decreed by the Stockholm diet, had already involved a heavy violation of right. As the Livland estates had never enjoyed in Sweden the rights and privileges belonging to Estates of the kingdom, and as participation in these formed the fundamental condition of belonging to the Swedish state, the application of Swedish decrees to the Baltic land was legally impossible. Nevertheless the king's reduction commissioners proceeded here more recklessly and despotically than in their own country. In vain the knightly order sent deputation after deputation to Stockholm, to implore the averting of extreme measures; in vain they appealed to their charter of rights and privileges. The king's answer to the remonstrances made him was, abolishing the constitution of the land, under the knightly orders, and incarcerating *Johann Reinhold Patkul*, the boldest of the manly petitioners who had approached the throne of Charles. Meanwhile, in Riga, the Swedish governor-general, Count *Hastfer*, behaved as the bitter foe of the nobility, and the unquestionable favorite of his prince. Swedish laws and regulations more and more usurped the place of the German; strangers filled the offices and seats of justice; the sons of the land were oppressed and deprived of the influence

which belonged to *them* by historical right and by the statutes of their fathers. But the truth of the saying, 'oppressed they may be, but not suppressed', was once more to be strikingly verified. The tough resistance which everywhere met the hostile policy of Sweden kept its advance in check up to the middle of the century: then, however, broke out the northern war, and once more completely changed the balance of power in the Baltic lands. Oppressed to the utmost by Sweden, and despairing of saving his country by peaceful and legal means, that melancholy, but heroic spirit, Patkul (who had fled from his Swedish dungeon, and had entered the Polish, and subsequently the Russian service), turned to Peter the Great, the sun the rising in then East; it was his doing, that the Tzar cast his glance on the Baltic lands, and took advantage of the fatal condition into which Sweden had been thrown by Charles the Twelfth's iron obstinacy, to extend the bounds of his own empire to the Baltic sea. Again, the land between the Düna and the Embach became the battle field of the contending powers; again the fury of war desolated for well nigh two centuries the broad plains of Livland; the peasant sank into beggarly poverty and brutality, the towns were set on fire, and the fortresses were rased. In spite of the cruel injustice which they experienced, the Livlanders fought bravely for the cause of their prince; and it was only after hard struggle and desperate defence that the Tzar made himself master of the strip of land along the coast. It was not until he had confirmed the knights and cities in their old privileges, that they rendered homage to the new sovereign. By confirming the so-called treaty of agreement, and subsequently by the terms of the Peace of Nystädt, Peter became bound for himself and his successors to acknowledge the predominance, throughout his new provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, of the Lutheran church, of the German law, of

the German language, and of the hereditary constitution, and to ensure for all time to come the 'augmentation' rather than the 'diminution' of the privileges of the Livlanders.

Once more the 'forlorn hope' of German civilisation on the Baltic was saved, but at a high cost. Bleeding from a thousand wounds, the land lay in a state of apathy and exhaustion, which lasted for half a century. It was not till eleven years after the settlement of the treaty with Livonia, that Peter concluded peace with the Swedes; until that time, the pressing system to which he was compelled by the miseries of war continued without interruption. From fear that the Swedes might, during his campaign in Russia Minor, land and establish themselves in the neighbourhood of Dorpat, which was especially anti-Russian in its sentiments, the Tzar ordered this town to be utterly destroyed, and the inhabitants conveyed to the interior of the Empire. The Russ government knew too little yet of its new subjects to be able to enter into their peculiar requirements and opinions; and, in spite of the undeniable goodwill which Peter manifested towards his German provinces, mistakes, misunderstandings, and violations of the law of the most painful kind did not fail to occur: a generation passed before they had learned to understand each other, and before the government could do any thing to remedy the pressing evils. The impoverished country was, however, utterly unable to help itself in any way. At the Livonian diet of 1714, it was not only ascertained that most parishes were without Church authorities; but, at the same time, it was proved that there was only one clergyman to every five or six parishes, — so fearfully had the war and its grim companions, plague and famine, ravaged! It is true, it was resolved, to the utmost of their power, to seek out 'fit and worthy persons', and to have 'more frequent visitations' undertaken by the superintendent and provosts;

but from whence were the people to come to fill the vacant posts, and where were the means to be gained for rebuilding the burnt down and ruined churches and parsonages?. The distress was still so great, that knightly incomes amounted only to 200 Thalers! What, under such circumstances, must have been the condition of the common man, and especially of the peasant, needs not to be told; the pen revolts from the terrible picture of the existence of the Livonian peasant in the early part of the XVIIIth century. Penned up in miserable clay huts together with cows and swine, the peasant led an existence which had long ceased to lay claim to human dignity. Regularly every autumn, he indulged in drunkenness, and every spring, he had to suffer famine; the serf had to be driven by the whip of the taskmaster to the work which he owed his master; brandy and the whip (Serfdom's twin sisters) were the poles between which turned the axis of his life. Added to this, there were the hardships of an ungenial climate, knowing only four months of summer, and of which the protracted winter caused the barometer to freeze, while deep masses of snow covered the vast plains, which were at times impenetrable; and the inhabitants of the desolate country were condemned to days of idleness and twilight slumber in their smoky huts. To remedy such a state of things, otherwise than gradually, lay beyond the reach of the possible. Pious wishes for the improvement of matters, and for better regulated school discipline, meet us in the acts of the diet, throughout the quarter of the century that followed the conquest, while the realisation of these wishes made no progress. Seventeen years passed before even the restoration of the Lyceum at Riga, the one school which the nobles had possessed for the education of their sons, could be seriously thought of, and half a century elapsed before a material basis for this institution was provided! Who therefore could be astonished

when as good as nothing was done for the education of the people.

No less sad was the aspect of things in the cities; trade and industry could only with difficulty recover the blow which the miseries of war had inflicted; the ruinous monopoly of corporations, and a perverse view of national economy, which rendered all healthful speculation impossible, owing to the continually changing prohibitions with regard to trade, all combined to perpetuate the narrow-mindedness of by-gone times, and to check all free development. No civilising influence was to be expected from Russia, which at that time had to struggle with its own heavy internal conflicts; the fact that in this country society consisted of only nobles and serfs, and possessed no middle class, was felt all the more disadvantageously in Livland and Esthland. The boundless pretensions of the nobles in these provinces were considered in Russia as much a matter of course as the slavery of the peasants; they had no understanding of the rights and requirements of a citizen class, because they knew of none at home. The privileges which the Livlanders justly prized so highly as the sanctuaries of their public life were, at the same time, the causes of the stagnation and the poverty into which the land had sunk, and from which it only raised itself with difficulty in the second half of the philosophical century; together with the predominance of the Lutheran church and the German tongue, the nobles had secured the right of exclusive possession of the soil, and the cities had stipulated for the continuance of the old corporations and distinctions which checked the agricultural development of their inhabitants. Not only against the '*non*-German' fellow citizens, the Letts and Esths, and the obtruding Russian element, did the obstinacy of the old corporations endeavor to close their doors; but it was in their eyes of equal importance to set up as

high barriers as possible between the persons of halfblood and those who boasted a pure descent. In former times, every nobleman who lived in the country, and could shew a valid patent of nobility, belonged to the knightly order. In the middle of the XVIIIth century the old families effected that a *matricula*, *i. e.* a register of all the nobles belonging to the knightly order, should be taken, and the admission of new members should be made dependent on their formal acceptance by the majority of the members of the corporation. Thus a hostile element was created in their own land. Hence, idle quarrels absorbed the remaining strength, all prosperous co-operation of the various elements was destroyed, and the Baltic Germans lost the esteem of their new ruler. The bulwark of the German element threatened at once to become a fetter, especially so long as the nobles, were not drawn into the intellectual movement which was beginning to work in Germany about the middle of the century, and so long as the son of a noble house regarded no other career as suitable but the military.

The first half of the XVIIIth century passed away without the land having made any progress whatever of importance. The uninterrupted class-disputes had not only undermined the predilection for the mutual participation of German interests in Livland and Esthland, but had hindered any use being made of the inactivitiy of the government, paralysed as it was by changes of rulers and by palace revolutions, to establish the constitutional relation of the Baltic provinces to Russia on a firm basis suited to the interests of both. The same knightly order which had enforced its matricula, its exclusive right of possessing land, and the right of occupying almost all judicial and magisterial offices, had been defeated in the most important of all the aims which it pursued — the codification of the Livonian public and private Law.

It was not until after 1760 that a decided change for the better appeared, and serious attempts were made towards the fulfilment of the tasks which for years had been neglected. After the equity of Peter the Great had cancelled the injustice of the Swedish law of reduction, and had placed the nobles again in possession of their lands; and the sagacity of the same monarch had brought the tribunals of justice and administrative departments to the old footing, for the first time postal communications between the separate cities were established; a peace of fifty years had softened the feelings of men; and had accustomed them to look beyond the common cares of the coming morning — and in the minds of the descendants of the vanquishers of the Letts and Esths awoke the consciousness of the heavy debt which they owed to these races. It was the provincial deputy Karl Friedrich *Schoultz*, Baron von *Ascheraden*, who first advocated the right of the peasant, and, in the year 1763, demanded, in the name of 'restored human rights', a voluntary limitation of the serfdom of the Livonian noble; his exhortations were, it is true, rejected with indignation; but the sparks which he had kindled in the hearts of the proud barons were no longer to be smothered, especially as the government of Catharine II. entered into the matter, and, by constant proposals for diminishing the burdens of the peasants, kept alive the conscience of the nobles. The contest for the abolition of serfdom, and the emancipation of the peasant, was henceforth the scarlet thread which is drawn thro 'the history of the last hundred years of Baltic life'. Not only in the government did the cause of peasant freedom find a powerful support, during the latter half of the XVIIIth century; but the citizens and clergy took an energetic part in it. In Riga especially, where, at that time, there were men such as *Herder* and *Hamann*, where one of the greatest benefactors of the country, the

bookseller and printer *Hartknoch*, was active in the cause of enlightenment, the newly-established theatre gathered a circle of aspiring authors round higher interests, the beginnings of a provincial press sprung up under the protection of noble patricians and an enlightened clergy, and the liberal ideas of the age met with enthusiastic reception and a fruitful soil. The clergy of the plains, hitherto ossified in stiff orthodoxy and without understanding for their task of civilisation, were forced into new paths by the influence of pietism and, subsequently, of rationalism; and took up the cause of popular education with energy and devotion: everywhere culture and effort were at work, and the conviction that matters must become different and better soon took possession of all the educated of the land.

The Baltic lands however were to render tribute also to the errors of the philosophical century; in 1783, Catharine II. abolished the old constitution, in order to replace it by new Bureaucratic institutions, which, under the name of the vice-regal constitution, threatened to break through the course of historical development, and to open the door to foreign elements, which had no sympathy with the special requirements of the land; and again the continuance of the German colonial state was endangered and rendered doubtful. The sense of justice of the Emperor Paul, however, in the year 1796, restored to the loyal men of Livland and Esthland 'what had been wrongfully taken from them'.

At the beginning of the XIXth century, we find the three provinces which had been sundered in 1561 again united under the Russian sceptre; after the final division of Poland the maintenance of the independence of Curland had become impossible, and this Polish feudal dukedom had (1795) become subject to Catharine II. Seven years afterwards one of the most ardent wishes, cherished for 90 years by the inhabitants

of the three countries, was fulfilled: in December 1802, Alexander I. faithful to the promise which his great ancestor Peter had made in the treaty of 1710, restored the university of Dorpat, and with the opening of this fruitful nursery of German science begins the latest epoch of the history of the Baltic provinces.

II.

Livland, Esthland, and Curland form, with the islands belonging to them, Oesel, Moon, Runo, Dagden, and Worrus, a territory of 1754 German square miles, numbering about 1,850,000 inhabitants. The little town of Walk, lying in the heart of Livland, equally remote from the northern as from the southern boundary of the land obtained for German civilisation, marks the boundary between the two primeval races who have ever represented the majority of the population; towards the north, as far as the rocky south coast of the Finnish Gulf, stretch the abodes of the Oestii race, and south from Walk to the level banks of the Nyemen, the soil of Livland and Curland is peopled by Letti, a Lithuanian race, whose languages shews more affinity with Sanscrit than any other tongue spoken in Europe. Scattered among both races, sometimes in compact masses in cities and country towns, sometimes settled in solitary manor houses and parsonages, inns, mills and schools, there live and bear sway about 200,000 Germans, partly descendants of the brave conquerors of this coast-land, but for the most part recent immigrants of the most different callings; every thing that does not belong to the peasant class is German in its character. No one has yet undertaken to establish accurately who belongs to the German, and who to the Lettic and Estic population, and

scarcely would any one succeed in the attempt; for yearly the number of those who pass over from the subject into the ruling race is in the increase. The schoolmaster, who has received his education in one of the seminaries of Livland or Curland, the younger son of the easy farmer, who has gone to the city to learn a trade or become an apprentice, the talented peasant's boy, to whom the favor of the lord of the manor, or the friendship of the neighbouring pastor, has opened a learned career, the prudent agriculturist, who has risen to be a bailiff, steward or manager, and, lastly, the serf's daughter, who has gone into service in the city, or has been brought up with the baron's daughter as a dependent playfellow; — all these change their nationality with their calling, and become Germans within a year: even the rich Lettish proprietor, who has gained his farm as his free property, and proudly calls himself a peasant; who speaks intentionally no other language than that of his people, is glad when his children learn German. The idea of 'Master' and 'German' are in this country so completely identified, that the language of the Esthians has only one expression (Saxa) for both; and Germanisation is regarded as the only way which leads to true culture and higher position. 'Rustice tu non eris hic rex' (Peasant thou wilt never here be king), exclaimed a Lithuanian prince, in the year 1345, to the Lettic general, who summoned him to take part in a common war of extirpation against the Germans: and these words have eminently been fulfilled. To seek to establish, at the present day, how many Germans in the three provinces are of Lettish or Esthnic origin, and which Letti and Esthi have already accepted the German tongue, would be an impossible and, it seems to us, a superfluous undertaking. 'Language' says a clever writer in a treatise on the question of nationality in the Baltic provinces, 'language is only one of the constituent

elements of nationality; a very important one, it is true, but not one decisive in itself. In one case it is religion, in another political associations, in another something else which counterbalances the differences of language, and allows them to recede as unessential. The Letts and Esths are a striking example of the fact that a people may retain their language, and at the same time, in almost every other respect, lose all stamp of peculiarity. Through Lutheranism and Herrenhutianism the substance of their spiritual necessities is moulded in German form; they have, for centuries, known none but German ideas of law, and their whole literature consists of imitations and translations of German productions. What remains? perhaps some national song, some marriage custom, some peculiar vehicle, plough or flail? But all these remains from the childhood of the races vanish day by day; and we might assert that the Germanising of the Letts and Esths, far from being a problem, is a fact long ago established. The languages, indeed, still remain; but even these would scarcely interfere with the unity of the various strata of the population, or the feeling of their essential connexion, did not some other barrier stand between; something, not of a national, but of a social nature. The cleft between the peasant serf and the other classes of the land was once dreadfully deep and broad; it has not even yet, by the work of a whole century, been satisfactorily filled up; the more that this is the case, the more powerless will become all hitherto existing contrasts, even that of language.'

In order to know anything really of the land and its inhabitants, we must not rest content, however, with the general notion of the 'Baltic provinces': it is rather needful that we take a glimpse at the several countries and districts individually. The peculiarities of character, which the immi-

grants of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries brought with them into their new home, have been as much preserved in the colony as in the mother-country; in fact, from the variety of destinies through which the different parts of the land have passed in the course of centuries, they are, in a certain sense, more distinctly marked than in Germany. In the north, Swedish influences have prevailed; in the south, Polish; in the one the roughness of the climate, in the other the greater fertility of the soil, has had a decided effect on the character of the inhabitants and on the face of the country. In Esthland, the Swedes have ruled 60 years longer than in Livland; the island of Oesel was for half a century in Danish hands; the Livon mainland has for a long time been under Polish rule; lastly, Curland has been never Swedish and never Polish; and it resigned its independence into Russian hands, 80 years later than the land north of the Düna. No wonder, therefore, that there could be no thought of a compact and united development; that the various historical agents which had appeared in the separate territories should leave lasting traces behind; that the inhabitants should have different characteristics, and only very gradually understand the blending of their interests and the levelling of the distinctions by which they were separated and sundered one from the other.

Let us begin with Curland, the most southerly of the three countries, the ancient long and narrow duchy, which touches in the west the extreme point of East Prussia, and in the east is squeezed in like a wedge between Lithuania and Polish Livland. Broken up by no mountain wall, no range of heights, intersected alone by numerous small rivers, carefully cultivated, and affording rich supplies to its industrious inhabitants, the broad fruitful plains stretch from the southern slopes of the Düna to the marshy banks of the

Nyemen, which marks the boundary of Lithuania and the sway of quite another degree of civilisation. The experienced traveller sees at a glance that the settlement may be numbered by centuries, and that profound peace has prevailed for generations; for, except the northern head land and the narrow eastern projecting tongue of land, which tapers off to a mere strip along the Düna, corn-fields are everywhere to be seen; the immense pine forests, which give the landscape of Livland and Esthland such a melancholy aspect, have here long since vanished, or have shrunk into small woods and enclosures, carefully tended, and affording a refuge to the fleet hare and the timid doe, but from which the shaggy bear and the hungry wolf have disappeared within the memory of man. Endless fields of rye, wheat, and barley alternate with rich meadows, only occasionally a barren moor hill raises its moss-covered head, to invite the chase-loving sons of the land to a chase. To the right and left of the broad highway which connects the old capital, Mitau, with the harbors of the west coast (Libau and Windau), and with the numerous little towns and villages of the lowland (thus is the fruitful country designated, which lies between 39—43° = 32—36° East Long.) are to be seen, scattered cheerfully over the undulating soil which marks the originally maritime character of the vast plain, pointed and for the most part green-painted church towers, proud manorial seats, comfortable parsonages and numerous cottages, generally surrounded by well-kept orchards. Everything breathes comfort and prosperity; the inns in which the traveller rests are clean, and suitable to the requirements of civilised men. In no part of the Baltic provinces is the German Protestant character of the civilisation so distinctly stamped as in lower Curland; nowhere has Germanisation penetrated so far, and nowhere are there so few foreign elements to be traced.

Large towns or cities proper are but few in number; on the other hand, there is rather a large proportion of small market towns and homesteads, which promote the dissemination of the German element, and are inhabited by people who form the natural link between both nationalities. There is an utter absence of villages; in Curland, and in the Lettish part of Livland, the peasant dwells apart, on the portion of ground which he holds as tenant or as owner, often half a mile distant from his nearest neighbour.

While many a peasant's house of the poorer districts of Livland and Esthland is without a chimney, it is to be met with everywhere in lower Curland, constantly surmounting a stone building which, with its vast outhouses, has been erected at comparatively small expense, thanks to the building associations which exist on numerous estates. The whole farm premises are distinguished by order and cleanliness — two virtues which the Curland Lette has quickly adopted — and they are constantly connected with the highway by a well-planted avenue of slender birches or gnarled maple-trees. After a stagnation of centuries, the agrarian development of the 'little land of God' (Gottes Ländchen*) has rapidly proceeded. Serfdom was not abolished till 1817, and the agrarian law, which regulated the new relations between master and peasant, committed the error of starting on the principle of free contract, *i. e.* of adjudging all the soil to the proprietor, of leaving the conditions of the leases to the agreement between him and his peasant-tenant, and of excluding the latter from acquiring any land as owner. Until 1830, soccage was the customary form of peasant existence; and it was only to be ascribed to the traditional

* The Curlanders are wont to designate their country by this expression of their national hero, Duke Gotthard.

humanity of the proprietors, with whom severe treatment of their people was reckoned not 'Curlandlike' (unkurisch) and ungentlemanly *(unaristokratisch)*, that the peasant did not pine away in misery; from this time (1830) soccage began to be converted into leases, and this not with any co-operation on the part of the government, but only by the great personal influence exercised by Baron Hahn, the plenipotentiary of the country (the title borne by the head of the Curland Knights). At about the same time the *(Mehrfelder-wirthschaft)* plan of ploughing many fields together took the place of the old trifallow *(dreifelder)* system. While in Livland and Esthland unceasing experiments were made with agrarian laws, the change from soccage to leases was accomplished among the Curlanders of itself. After the legislatorial step had in this way been prepared, the government, in 1860, urged that landed property should be permitted to the peasants, and the hitherto unlimited right of confiscation by the masters should be restricted. Thanks to the activity of the liberal nobles, who were led by *v. d. Recke*, the present plenipotentiary, both these government proposals were accepted in the summer of 1863, and, four years afterwards, a considerable portion of the peasant-farms passed into the possession of the tenants, and the happy position of the peasants was legally guaranteed. In June 1865, the Curland nobles took another important step on the path of liberal reform; they voluntarily renounced their primeval right to the exclusive possession of manorial lands, and left their acquisition open to the competition of all classes.

If we advance further towards the east through the rich wheatfields of the Curland lowlands, we shall arrive on the other side of Friedrichsstadt, a small town situated on the Düna, in the so-called Highlands, a part of the country

which bears a thoroughly peculiar stamp, very different from the rest of the Duchy. The influence of the vicinity of Polish Lithuania here makes itself apparent. As regards the face of the country, forests here predominate, stretching for miles along the Düna in all their primeval wildness, while the dwellings of man and cornfields appear only as exceptions; the population is mixed, having a strong infusion of Lithuanian and Polish elements, and, in a moral and intellectual respect, it stands far below the larger and purely Lettic portion of the country. While in the rest of Curland there are none other but Lutheran village churches, the Highlands contain numerous Catholics, adherents of the Greek orthodox confession, original or reunited *(Uniats)*, and Russian *old-faith folk*, who have migrated from the adjacent Vitepsk and from Polish Livland, and have become blended into a mixed race, in whom the Lettish element is lost sight of, and of whom it is said that they prefer horse-stealing, highway robbery, and brandy-smuggling, to any other employment. Business and trade are here almost exclusively in the hands of Jews (in Livland and Estland rarely found), who have migrated to Curland during the Polish rule, and have over-populated most of the cities of the land, and have produced much demoralisation, owing to the poverty, rudeness, and want of civilisation they have brought from Poland.

The national peculiarities of the Baltic Germans have been nowhere so strikingly developed, and have in no other provinces assumed such characteristic forms as in Curland, and especially among the Curland nobles. It is a strange race which is represented by the proud and yet simple barons of this country. While the influence of the richer and more strongly developed city life, and the earlier extinction of political independence, has given the Livlander

the sickly pallor of thought, the fresh warm blood which the original colonists of the country brought with them still circulates with unfettered power through the veins of the Curlander. Unconquerable love of enjoyment, and immense power of labor, here appear in close combination, and check that calm pedantic development of mind which generally constitutes the strength of the German. In fact the life of the Curlander flows on amid the interchange of vigorous and impulsive effort, and fresh luxurious enjoyment. The habit of centuries of rule and undisputed authority gives the Curland nobleman a sense of his own dignity and importance, and makes him feel every outward restriction as an injustice; and yet again this is thoroughly different from the assuming haughtiness of the frontier baron, or of the poorer Livland nobleman, whose younger sons take these barons for their model. All ostentation and boasting has from the first been excluded from the knightly circles 'of Curland and Pilten', — rank proclaims itself in strict, substantial, even frugal, and ever true forms of life and intercourse. The citizen is met with courtesy and unconstraint; — as there is no idea of derogating from dignity, it is never necessary to assert pretensions, or to make superiority outwardly felt; the Curland noble delights in shewing the high official that he knows of no distinguished class, and that to be a *gentleman* (belong to knighthood) is the highest rank to which a mortal can attain, — yet with the peasant his intercourse is downright, frequently imperious, but generally fatherly and hearty. In all the affairs of life the Curlander is practical and natural; nothing is so alien and averse to his nature as dry theory — but he possesses, it is true, a practical skill, and hits the nail on the head, without long hammering round the wall. Grown up amidst free nature, in easy circumstances, an unwearied hunter and rider, even to

extreme age, gifted with indestructible humor and good temper, he delights in assuming the appearance of a thoughtless epicurean; behind this rude shell, however, oftener than the stranger would believe, there is hidden a solid and noble heart. Many a rough huntsman, whom one might suppose had not a thought beyond the objects immediately surrounding him, reveals himself on closer acquaintance to be an able jurist, a keen-sighted politican, or a well-read critic on historical and literary subjects. The '*plus être que paraître*' is of such old tradition in this country, and is so universally regarded as the badge of true aristocracy, that every one avoids desiring to be more than a simple Curlander, that the finer traits of character and education are intentionally repressed, in order that their possessor may not expose himself to the suspicion of pedantry or sentimentality.

Essentially in nature like the nobleman, though outwardly differing from him, is the Curland citizen, whether he be a practical lawyer, scholar, or clergyman. Even the respectable and strictly orthodox country pastor, who is unweariedly active in the moral and religious training of his peasant-flock, rarely sets aside the peculiarities of the Curland nature; he has a lively sense of all that life affords for enjoyment and mirth, he does not disdain occasionally to introduce a racy humorous allusion in discussing the most serious questions, he understands how to handle the fowling-piece as well as the postil; and hypocrisy and sham are as alien to him as fruitless theoretical discussions. Whoever sees for the first time the vigorous compact figures of these clergy, would fancy himself in the society of the merry bishops of the middle ages, and would scarcely believe that these men are in nowise inferior to their solemn and pathetic, German brethren; in moral earnestless, energetic vigor and fidelity to their vocation; that, indeed, in independence of opinion

they are frequently above them, and, in many cases, are by far more successful than they in caring for the souls under their charge. The Curland clergy are teachers of the people in the best sense of the word, and they regard the fulfilment of the duty of national education as more important than occupying themselves with dogmatical subtleties. The times in which they were only hunting-friends and boon companions of their noble neighbours, have long since past. The demand for national culture has in recent times been regarded all over the country, both by nobles and clergy, as a point of honor; and the proprietor who would lay any claim to consideration as a good patriot, cannot help defraying at least half the expenses of the national schoolmaster out of his own pocket. For the last 27 years, a training seminary for teachers has been supported at Irmelau at the expense of the gentry (Ritterschaft); it has proved, under the best management, a rich blessing; and the result is that there is scarcely a young peasant in Curland who is not acquainted with the elements of arithmetic, geography, and history, besides reading, writing, and catechism.

We have already pointed out that the want of an independent burgher class in Curland has from of old been the inveterate evil under which this otherwise favored country suffers. In recent times this evil has assumed an especially threatening character, and has led to a rupture, the dangers of which are of a very serious nature. From the insignificance and poverty of most of the country towns, overcrowded as they are with Jews, the burgher is deprived of his natural means of livelihood, and of the influence which a century ago it was his right to exercise. Merchants and artisans are kept down and checked in their efforts by the competition of the Jews — the scholars or (to use the expression customary in the country) the *'litcrati'* form a

special caste, which consumes itself in easily intelligible indignation at its isolation and unimportance, and not unfrequently a purely negative position, as regards existing circumstances, is held by its most distinguished representatives. In fact, all political power and all political influence are in the hands of the gentry; their delegates form the diet, and represent the interests of the province; in their hands rests the election of the headmen, over-headmen, assessors, and councillors of the supreme court of judicature, who are the judges and country magistrates of the province; the burgher law-student is restricted to enter into the service of the town municipalities, to become a lawyer, or to undertake the post of secretary to some noble magistrate — an office lucrative indeed, but which excludes all prospect of advancement. The administration of justice, and local jurisdiction, are matters of class in all the three Baltic provinces; the members of the provincial finance and control departments are alone appointed by the state. While the more strongly-developed city life renders an independent career possible to the burghers of Livland and Esthland, the town jurist of Curland who does not like the secretaryship to some country magistrate finds but one path open to him, namely, entrance into the service of the state.

The broad channel of the majestic *Düna* forms the boundary between Curland and Livonia; if the traveller crosses the frontier at *Olay*, and takes his way thro' Riga, into the heart of Livland, he finds himself in a world which in spite of many similarities with Curland is yet widely different from it. The altered appearance of the country at once reminds the traveller that he has gone farther north. The gloomy, melancholy pine-forests which bound the horizon on all sides, tell unmistakably that the contest with nature has been far harder here than on the plains of Cur-

land; that the thinly-scattered inhabitants between Riga and Pernau have before them a far larger field to civilise and cultivate than their brothers on the other side of the magnificent stream, on whose waves the first German colonists were borne to the eastern Baltic shores. The vehicles and equipments of the peasants that we meet lead us to infer in Livland too, a certain state of prosperity; — but the imperfect iron tires of the wheels soon betray to the experienced eye that this prosperity is young and still in its growth. The peasant-farms, too, which are visible through the birches, and which here and there break the uniform gloom of firs and pinetrees, are less stately in their appearance than in Curland; the thatched roof is almost universal; and the fresh whitewash of the chimneys shews that the present occupier of the farm can still distinctly remember the old smoky room. Instead of the endless plains, intersected only by streams, which we found in Curland, we here meet with the sight of a hilly country, crowned by ridges of heights, and even by two considerable plateaus. The rivers are broader and more numerous; and it is only to be ascribed to the hard fate of the land (to which a lively testimony is given in the numerous castellated ruins), that their navigation has only now begun to be attempted. About 12 German, or near 50 English miles north of Riga, the scene changes, and we reach the rich flax lands of Livonia. Here the forests are, for the most part, thinned, and transformed into fields, stone-buildings with red tiled roofs predominate, and the comfortable and proud appearance of the peasantry leads us to infer that they have become proprietors instead of tenants. At Valk, the blue coat by which the Lette is to be recognised, has disappeared, and in its place we see the long black dress of the long-haired Esthman, who is praised, it is true, for greater energy and vigor of character,

but who excludes himself more decidedly from the influence of German civilisation, than is the case with the Lettish inhabitants of Curland and of southern Livland. Here we meet with the first villages, *i. e.* groups of 5 to 10 peasant-farms, necessary to the more social nature of the Esthman. Denser and darker grow the forests, and more and more insignificant and dirty the peasants' houses; for, altho' the northwest part of Livland, owing to the rich cultivation of flax, is numbered among the wealthiest districts of the Baltic provinces, still its inhabitants are inferior to the Letti as regards their pretensions to comfort and cleanliness, and many a house is to be found here without a chimney, and with low dirty windows, tho' its possessor may reckon his property by thousands. In the extreme north of Livland and Esthland, uncleanliness and poverty appear more and more repulsively in the foreground. Soccages prevailed here but a few years, perhaps months ago, the lease system is a new acquisition, and the land-owning of the peasant is a rare exception.

Added to the greater unfavorableness of the climate and the more unyielding condition of the soil, the inferior prosperity of the nobles and the errors of a perplexed legislation may share the blame for the deficiencies that still exist in agrarian matters. The waverings of the legislation, accompanied by bitter contests among the gentry, affected most painfully the relations between landowners and peasants, and rendered the transition from soccage to the lease system difficult, while it impeded most disadvantageously the settlement with regard to the peasants' power to hold land, which had been making considerable advance for the last five years. Still more unfavorable was the state of affairs in Esthland, which in 1859 was obliged to 'pass through' a revolt of the peasants, before forcing its advance to the present order of

things. At the present day, the agrarian question may be regarded as substantially solved in the Baltic provinces, and only the evil eye of Moscow democracy still dreams of the necessity of a radical change, which, far from being a benefit, would far more likely produce the bankruptcy of the entire land. Soccage is now completely set aside in all three provinces; the soil occupied by the peasants as tenants is completely protected from confiscation; and the change from lease tenure to ownership is advancing with giant strides; a decree of the 19th February 1866 has at length abolished every vestige of the subjection of the communes to the landowners, and they have been made thoroughly independent. Corporal punishment also no longer exists, and the proprietor who wishes to chastise his farm servants may no longer do so himself, but must summon to his aid the overseer chosen by the peasants, or the communal court. Within a few years the wealth of the peasants has increased so rapidly, that the small capitals in their hands already amount to millions; and the material condition of the lesser landed proprietor is on the whole more satisfactory than that of the manorial possessor, especially in Livland, where bankruptcy more frequently occurs among the nobles

Greater wealth, however, is not the only mark by which the Curland nobleman is distinguished from the Livonian. Altho' the nobility in Livland also forms the ruling class, and beside the city of Riga is alone represented at the diet, altho' they possess exclusive right to the appointment of country judges and administrative officers, and rejoice in a greater number of other important privileges; yet the citizen class has ever played a far more conspicuous part in Livland and Esthland than in the duchy on the other side of the Düna. The more frequent change of rule, the sufferings of numerous wars, the restriction of the authority of

the nobles by the rule of the Swedish kingdom; and, lastly, the existence of larger and more independent cities, whose power must be recognised — all this has accustomed the Livland noble to regard himself as not the only ruling class. The claim to this position has, it is true, never been completely relinquished, it has richly contributed to stir up the quarrels between the classes, — but its effectual assertion has ever met with difficulties. The members of the Livland Knightly Order (gentry) have never possessed exclusive right to the possession of the manors; altho', in 1710, they succeeded in questioning the privileges claimed in this respect by the Riga citizens, it cost them a hard struggle of 10 years before the citizens were completely excluded; and this exclusion had to be purchased by the admission to landownership of all nobles, *i. e.*, even those persons, who had earned titles of hereditary nobility in the service of the state, but, without belonging to the knightly order, might become proprietors of baronial estates. It was not until 1845, on occasion of the codification of the provincial law, that this state of things came into force; in 1866 the Livland barons dispensed with it, and, following the example of the Curland nobles, gave freedom of land-ownership to all classes. Since then, the relation of the burger to the noble has essentially improved; supported by an able class of merchants and artisans, who are accustomed to political activity and self-government, completely independent, each in his respective city, raised by the possession of the university of Dorpat to the full sense of his importance, represented in the diet by the powerful city of Riga, the Livland burgher class has never fallen into the isolated embittered position of the Curlander; it has become easy in the present day for him to comprehend the necessity of an understanding with the nobles, and to support them in the defence of the

rights of their common country. It is true the nobles and burghers of this province lack the fresh original vigor of the Curland character, and the noble especially shews greater pretension and less aristocratic liberality of thinking than in Curland; but these deficiencies are counterbalanced by a more conscious culture, by a more correct understanding of the requirements of the age, by a maturer insight into the necessity of taking part in modern civilisation and its course of progress. By the wealth of its cities, by the possession of the university, of a polytechnic school, of an aspiring political press, of the first Baltic railway; and, lastly, by the fact that Riga is the seat of the Governor-general's residence, and of the central administration of the Baltic, Livland has acquired a certain intellectual superiority over the adjacent provinces; Esthland, which has only one city of importance — old Revel, and which is the poorest of the three provinces, owing to its agrarian condition, appears less favored. Added to this, Estland, from its close vicinity to St. Petersburg, is most exposed to foreign (*i. e.* Russian) influence. In one respect Livland is certainly worse off than the two sister provinces; and that is, in church matters. About 100,000 of the poorest Letti and Estii, during the famine of 1840, misled by the deceitful promises of Russian itinerant preachers, passed over to the Greek Orthodox Church, and, in most parishes of the country, a Russian church is even now to be found side by side with the Lutheran. The history of these conversions forms one of the saddest episodes in the past history of Livland; it occurs at a period of religious and political decline, from which the country has only with difficulty worked its way out. It may be attributed to the prevalence of soccage, to the indifference of the German population to the fate of the aborigines, and partly also to the indolence of the clergy, that thousands of

the peasantry sought to purchase a better future by apostacy from the church of their fathers. The poor infatuated people were to pay dearly enough for their want of fidelity. After the agrarian evils had, as far as possible, been remedied, and a new spirit had passed into the clergy of the land; and national education, owing to the seminaries at Dorpat and Valk, had made considerable progress; the converted Letts and Esths perceived (they formed nearly 10 per cent of the rural population) that the new church, to which they had given a trial, was unable to meet their mental and spiritual needs, that they remained excluded from the educational advantages of their Lutheran brethren, and that they stood in an almost hostile position to the German population of the country, from whom all culture and all progress emanated, and who now concerned themselves unweariedly about schools, books, and newpapers. Their condition threatened to become untenable; living in the midst of a Protestant country, they were separated by their language, their education, and the course of their development from the Russian people, whose religious worship they still felt to be somewhat alien and external. A mighty reaction occurred — the converts poured in crowds to the secular and religious authorities of the country imploring to be again received into the Lutheran church; but they were met by a hard, inexorable law which, in spite of the liberty of faith secured by the privileges of the land, had gained practical authority; whoever belonged to the Greek orthodox church could not leave it again, even the children of mixed marriages belonged irrecoverably to this church. After all the requests and remonstrances of the conscience-troubled multitude had met with no hearing, a passive resistance was organised, the power of which is even yet unbroken. Ten thousands of men, women, and children solemnly declared,

that no power on earth would ever compel them to attend a Greek church or to take part in its religious ministrations: henceforth they attended only Lutheran services, and, as no Lutheran clergyman, under severe penalties, might administer sacramental offices to members of the Greek church, they thronged secretly and under false names to the Lord's Supper; they themselves baptized their children after the Lutheran form, and their marriages were solemnised by no clergyman, but were simply concluded by mutual promises of fidelity in the presence of witnesses. Every means of violence and persuasion have proved in vain; and the government has at last been obliged to give up inflicting punishment on persons, who, contrary to the regulations of the Greek church, remain for years absent from the Lord's Supper. What is to become of these outcasts, no one can tell; the liberal tendencies of the government, which has recently, in 1865, left the creed of children born of mixed marriages to the decision of the parents, and has abolished the compulsory baptism of children born out of wedlock; find an insurmountable barrier in the jealousy of the Greek orthodox church, which will not let go its 'rights'; and the Moscow democratic party, famed for its alleged liberalism, is not ashamed to slander the government on account of its concessions to the freedom of conscience demanded by the spirit of the age, and to fan ever anew the fanaticism of the Greek Russian clergy. This terrible state of things rests like an incubus on the conscience of the country — as all attempts of the nobles and clergy for the restoration of the promised freedom of conscience have proved vain; and as every child in the land knows that the religious oppression which is exercised on the converts emanates, not from the Emperor, nor from the government, but is demanded by the popular will of Russia, nothing remains but sub-

mission to the oppression of an unalterable destiny, which must be endured in silence.

III.

Among the 45 cities and country towns* *(Flecken)* belonging to the Baltic (or *East-sea*) land — subject to the Russian sceptre, only two appear deserving the name of large towns, or *cities* proper *(grosser Städte)*: *Riga*, the capital of the Baltic provinces with its 103,000 inhabitants, and *Revel*, the old capital of Esthonia with its 32,000 inhabitants. With these are connected four middle-sized *scaport* towns: Narva, Pernau, Libau, and Windau; and two larger *country*-towns: *Mitau*, the chief town of Curland, with its 24,000 inhabitants, and the university-town of Dorpat, with its 20,000 inhabitants. The remainder are country towns, containing from 1,000 to at most 5,000 inhabitants.

The difference in the aspect of the *country* in the three provinces is reflected also in the *towns* and *cities;* in the towns of Livland the municipal laws of Riga prevail, which are based on the Hamburg principle; the towns of Estland are regulated according to the Revel acceptation of the Lübeck laws, and the greater number of the towns of Curland are subject to the common law of Curland. The unfavorable condition of the climate of Estland, the poverty of the soil,

* In *Livland* there are *ten* cities; Riga, Dorpat, Pernau, Fellin, Venden, Volmar, Valk, Verro, Lemsal, and Arensburg (on the isle of Oesel; *six* country towns: Bolderaa, Ruyen, Schlock, Rappin, Oberpahlen, and the fortress of Dünamünde. Estland contains but the *six* cities Revel, Narva, Baltish-Port, Hapsal, Vesenberg, and Veissenstein; and possesses *two* country towns: Leal, and Hungerburg, In *Curland* there are *eleven* cities: *Mitau*, Libau, Windau, Goldingen, Hasenpot Jacobstadt, Friedrichstadt, Bauske, Pilten, Tuckum, and Grobin, and *ten* country-towns: Durben, Schönberg, Old and New Subbat, Kalkunen, Tzabeln, Kandau, Talsen, Polangen, and Doblen.

and the dangerous rivalry of its mighty neighbour, St. Petersburg, has checked any prosperous advance in the cities of this province. Notwithstanding the favorable formation of its rocky coast, the commerce of this country still fails to thrive well, and even the old Hanse-town, Revel, in spite of the industry of its citizens, has much trouble in maintaining its former importance. The numerous cities and country towns of Curland have never attained to any independent civil power; more or less, they have all a rural character, and their industry depends principally on the nobles and the well-to-do peasantry. Swarming with Jews, who until recently might not leave the province, they have been kept down by them; only the little but active seaport of Libau (14,000 inhabitants) asserts a certain independence. The central point of all Baltic burgher-life lies in Livland, which has two cities to boast of, the importance of which is readily acknowledged by all three provinces; namely, the rich and proud Riga, and the university of Dorpat, the focus of German science and of high intellectual life, the abode of peace, in which the sons of the otherwise much sundered provinces meet in the service of the muses.

Only 65 years old, the Dorpat university has a rich and varied history. Its first foundation dates indeed to the times of Gustavus Adolph, who, in 1632, laid the ground-work for a Swedish *Universitas Literarum.* But an unfavorable star ruled over this creation of the great Swedish king; scarcely acclimatised, and modified according to the requirements of the German inhabitants of the country, the young high school rather than university was, as early as in 1699, removed to Pernau, to escape the fury of the advancing Russians: the rude storms of the northern war completely extinguished its lamp of life: and when Peter the Great subjected Livland to his sceptre, the whole of the Pernau Professors, and the

greater number of the students had fled across the sea to Sweden.

The re-establishment of a 'German university', stipulated in the capitulation of 1710, could not be brought about, in spite of all the efforts of the Livland nobles, until the beginning of the XIXth century. During the whole of the XVIIIth century, the sons of Livland, Esthland, and Curland found academical education only attainable in Germany; but the want of a native seat of learning made itself felt in many ways. Only rich nobles, merchants, and officials, could send their sons across the sea; the children of moderate fortune were obliged to be satisfied with what could be learned at the Lyceum at Riga, at the cathedral school for clergy and gentry at Revel, or at the Riga town-school. The greater number of the physicians, clergy, and lawyers, were immigrants from Germany; the learned sons of the land were constantly estranged from their home by a residence of years abroad. Hardest of all was the lot of the Lettish and Esthic peasantry, whose clergy frequently entered into office, without knowing a word of their language. This 'mournful' condition of things was put an end to in the year 1802, by the establishment of the Dorpat university.

Situated in the heart of the three Baltic provinces, surrounded by a pleasant country, in the midst of which conspicuously towered the old cathedral ruins, the Embach's little city seemed created for the reception of a German university. The first teachers in it were almost all immigrants from North Germany. Specially favored by Alexander the First's taste for learning, the young seminary speedily grew on to glad prosperity; free were its students as the sciences they studied there; and even the one fact was of immeasurable value, that Livonians and Esthonians, sons of the Riga citizens and Curland Barons, the descendants of

old patrician houses and the sons of 'half German' peasant families, found opportunity for brotherly intercourse, and during the fairer years of their life were united by a bond, the power of which often lasted throughout their later life. The Baltic citizens, whose material stability had grown out of the abundance of the Riga commerce, gained in the university an intellectual power, and obtained in learning a weapon against the ascendency of the nobles; while the nobility themselves found opportunity of acquiring a higher esteem and greater sympathy for the culture of the age. The nobleman broke brough his habit of allowing his heirs to spend the best years of their life in the army; whoever aimed at making a career, judicial or political, in the country, i. e. at holding a noble office of judge, or at being deputy of a province, must have been at Dorpat'. With the increase of the number of educated men, the demand for education rose; the land, as regards its mental requirements, was no longer thrown on the help of those whom chance carried to the Baltic shores. The clergy now brought with them to their office an accurate knowledge both of land and people, for they were themselves for the most part sons of the country, knowing, from youth up, the ideas and language of the peasant; native law, hitherto a secret science known only to a select few, who had been compelled to seek it laboriously from dusty folios, was now raised to the rank of an independent science, and was systematically studied. Manuals and journals were prepared for purging and lifting the old legal material, and soon there was not a tribunal in the land which did not number one or more members versed in jurisprudence. Besides an increase of public seminaries, private schools arose, conducted by able native professional men; learned education had become cheaper, and was therefore accessible to larger circles of society. Even during the first

twenty years from the founding of the university, side by side with immigrant German professors, were to be found natives of the country who had obtained the academical purple; and though they may not have abounded with productive power, yet, at least, they knew how to render important service to their country, as industrious teachers and true-hearted patriots.

If Dorpat forms the intellectual centre of Baltic life, Riga appears as the centre of its political and, especially, of its social burgher-life. Here the citizen holds sway, the merchant is all in all. Outwardly, moreover, the city appears old and noble. Only a few years ago the walls, which surrounded and too long confined the inner kernel of the city proper, have been rased and transformed into walks. This city centre, even at the present day, is curiously contrasted with the more modern suburbs. Through narrow streets, winding angularly in the old German fashion, upon which numerous gabled houses, immense granaries, and ancient cupolas, look down, busy, lively commerce goes on: a never-ending stream of laden waggons rolls on to the banks of the majestic Düna, which is covered with numerous vessels. On the other side of the river, in the low Mitau suburb, chiefly built of wood, we see Jews, Poles, Russians, and Curland and Lithuanian peasants busily employed in landing ever fresh masses of flax, linseed, and grain; for, all along the Baltic shores, until far into Lithuania, the cultivation of flax is the main income of the farmer, who frequently grows no more grain than he requires for his own use, but expends the rest of his time and powers on the cultivation and preparation of the plant which forms by far the most important article of export from the harbors of Riga, Pernau, and Windau.

The east side of the Riga old town joins the extensive

Moscow suburb, bounded on the south by the Düna and on the north by the sand hills, for centuries the meeting-place of Russian *'old faith'* sectaries, whose ancestors, already in the Polish and Swedish times, had fled thither from the results of their desperate stand against the church reform of the Metropolitan Nicon, to take shelter under the protection of Protestantism. Separated from the city itself by a broad girdle of avenues and extensive granaries, this quarter of the town affords a picture of genuine Russian life, elsewhere unknown in the Baltic provinces. The Germans are here in the minority, altho' at the head of the local administration; in low and for the most part green-painted houses there dwell bearded men, who wear the national red-shirt over the trowsers; and gain a scanty subsistence as small dealers, harbor men, carpenters, and manufacturers. The greater number belong to the extremest party of the Russian schism, the *priestless* communities; and, on account of the tolerance with which the Riga town-council had, in the times of oppression, shielded them against the persecuting bigotry of the 'orthodox' or right faith zealots, and, in particular, had acknowledged the legality of their marriages, tho' deprived of clerical solemnisation, they are decided friends of the prevailing German element and good citizens of the old Hanse-town. During the summer months, in the streets of this remote quarter (which many a citizen of the other parts of the town scarcely enters once in his life), are gathered crowds of 'Strusen'-Russians, small and generally beardless men, known by their dirty sheep-skin and conical felt hats; men who have come down from Lithuania and White Russia on immense rafts *(Strusen)*, laden with flax and grain, at the time of the high tides of the Düna. When their goods are disposed of to the wholesale dealer, the master of the raft hews his vessel to pieces with the axe, and the beams are then

sold; but he himself returns by railroad to his home, to live during the winter on the proceeds of his spring voyage. This branch of trade plays an important part in the commercial life of Riga; as far as the eye can reach the immense rough timbered rafts cover the stately stream, and the whole banks of the Moscow suburb form one great emporium. Lastly, the most elegant and wealthy part of the environs is the St. Petersburg suburb, situated on the north of the old city, in which stone buildings have recently begun to be exchanged for wooden ones.

The territory of Riga, however, extends far beyond the city and suburbs; this city is the richest proprietress of Livland. A long line of extensive estates became, centuries ago, her property, and are independently governed by her, both as regards administrative and judicical matters. The constitution (the remodelling of which, according to the spirit of the age, has for years been under discussion with the Imperial government) is to this day strictly aristocratic, and rests in the hands of the three 'estates of the city'.

The *first* estate is formed of a council, consisting of 4 burgomasters and 16 councillors, and the members of which have since the XIIIth century, filled up their number by co-optation, half being merchants and half lawyers. In this corporation is concentrated all the supreme power, including the administration of justice. The *second* estate is formed by the '*greater* guild' or Board, consisting of merchants and 'literati' (or men of learning); a bench of aldermen or elders, presided over by the (Mayor, or) Master Alderman, discharge, as a committee for the 'whole', the offices of this estate; the members of the guild are again divided into burghers and 'brothers'; that is, *full* citizens, who possess the *passive* right of election, *i. e.* being chosen to municipal offices, and a claim to the corporation property; and those

who exercise a merely *active* right of election, *i. e.* choosing and voting. On similar principles is organised, the *lesser*, or *St. John's* guild, the *third* Estate or corporation of artisans. Any valid decree in municipal affairs requires the agreement of these three 'estates'. A *fourth*, and now politically unimportant corporation is formed by the corps of the honorable 'blackheads', a brotherhood of unmarried merchants, who, in old times, constituted a military division of their own, and have the Moor 'Mauritius' for their patron saint; among their rich collection of silver drinking-vessels are to be found numerous relics of the past Hanseatic history of the city: — among others, presents from the other Hanse towns, and gifts of honor from foreign kings and princes, as, for instance, from Henry VIII, of England.

An elegant new (of course German) theatre, a splendid exchange, guildhalls, built in the Gothic style, a stately Mansion-house, gas works, the city grammar-school, the polytechnic school, maintained partly by contributions of the nobles and the other cities of the Baltic land, a navigation-school, numerous manufactories and private buildings, have sprung up within a few years, and evidence the still-growing prosperity of the citizens. To their initiative the country is indebted for the first Livland railway (the Riga-Düneburg), the first telegraph line (to Dünamünde), and a series of colossal harbor works, which have placed a barrier against the encroaching heaps of sand which threatened to choke the stream of the Düna.

In the various departments, too, of intellectual and artistic life, Riga has also at all times played an important part in the Baltic provinces. It has ever been the case, that there are almost as many German settlers here as in all the rest of Livland put together. Riga was the cradle of the

Reformation; under her protection was the first printing-house established, the first libraries collected, and periodical publications issued, as early as the XVIIth century. Here, during the latter part of the XVIIIth century, the ideas of enlightenment, and of the common rights of man, struck their first roots; in the year 1764, Herder was summoned to be head of the cathedral-school; and his memory has been immortalised by a statue on the square, since called the Herder-Platz. In recent times, it has been Riga especially to which the country owes the rise of the political press; besides the organs of various learned societies, numerous Lettish and German papers, and several political and religious reviews, have their seat in the city of the Düna. The struggle for reforms suited to the age, such as the improvement of the condition of the peasant, the abolition of the exclusive right of the nobles to hold landed property, and the remodelling of the old, and now too exclusive constitution, &c., has, during the last few years, been carried on with vigor by Riga journalists.

Lastly, Riga forms the seat of the central government of Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland: here, in the old castle, founded by the grandmasters, resides the governor-general, who holds the rank of Imperial Viceroy and military Commander-in-chief. The citizens of all three provinces behold in Riga the central point of their power and the future elevation of their class, which almost everywhere else holds a position inferior to the noble.

A few miles from Riga, on the level banks of the Aa, stands Mitau, the capital of Curland; in spite of the fact that the lately opened railway conveys travellers, within 55 minutes, from one city to the other, it is like passing into another world when the traveller arrives at Mitau, after crossing the cheerless desert which connects these two

cities. Broad, and not even clean streets, with low and generally wooden houses, unsightly churches, and public buildings, bearing no traces of a great Past, citizens, without any distinct impress of citizen purpose, and Jews predominating in trade and commerce. Mitau, in spite of its considerable extent, and its 24,000 inhabitants, has remained a country town, which will not attain to any real importance till the railway, which connects it with the rest of Europe, has made its effects permanently felt. As is the case everywhere in Curland, the superiority of the nobles is felt also in Mitau, and the citizens have acquired no independent authority. The more stately houses, which are not very numerous, belong to noblemen, who are accustomed to spend the the winter here. Owing to the Jewish element abounding throughout Curland, the numerous country-towns of Livland and Curland are as closely similar as their two capitals are dissimilar to each other. Side by side with artisans and petty dealers, the same people of authority are infallibly everywhere to be met with; the city pastor, the physician, the district teacher and his colleagues, the council-syndic, learned in the law, who, as a rule, is at the same time a legal practitioner, the postmaster, and lastly the noble members, and the learned secretaries of the provincial court of justice. Amid moderate professional employment and social family life, the days pass by without variety; visits to neighbouring proprietors, hunting parties, and at Christmas the usual journey to Riga, or Mitau, afford the only change. The men generally meet at a club, which possesses *one* reading-table, and many card-tables. The women are restricted to family visiting, except perhaps when a carnival-ball, arranged with the help of the nobles in the neighbourhood, opens the club-room also to them: or when some itinerant company of actors gather young and old to wit-

ness their performances. The great distances which separate these country-towns one from another, and the complete lack of railways, render these towns, even at present, far more isolated than German cities of the same size and importance. Thrown, as regards their intellectual needs, exclusively on the books and journals which appear in the provincial towns or are suited to their taste, the country towns of the Baltic obtain modern culture only at second-hand. From the scantiness of outward diversion, reading is a more general resource than in the central points of civilisation. The impressions received are more lasting, the susceptibility is fresher, and does not incur the danger of becoming blasé by continual change; the mind is more richly and deeply developed than in the west, where men live closer together, and each individual scarcely weighs in the scale. During the endless winter, when forest and field are veiled in a covering of deep snow, and the shortest journey is performed with difficulties such as the dwellers in central Europe can scarcely imagine, the cultivated classes of the provincial towns, and the country inhabitants of the Baltic shores, are thrown entirely on their own resources, and on the books and music which the bookseller of the nearest large town has selected for them. The worship of great poets and composers is therefore pursued with warmth and heartiness, arising from the feeling that life would be indeed only half-life without the gift of these immortal treasures. People who have never heard an orchestra in their life, to whom occasional Riga performances of Hamlet or Iphigenia, have been their greatest artistic remembrances, now draw their highest edification from mediocre piano-forte arrangements of Beethoven's symphonies, or from well-thumbed copies of old editions of Goethe and Shakespeare; and are never weary of kindling their hearts again and again with productions which,

in the place of their origin, are scarcely now regarded, because people have heard or seen them till they are tired. A new piece of music, a political or historical pamphlet, the title of which has been read in the papers, and which chance has brought into a neighbour's hands, passes from one to another, is a matter of the most general interest, and affords for days material for conversation. And as we are accustomed to return again and again to the creations of art and science from which we have once received a striking impression; so, in this country, men feel more closely bound with those who have exercised any influence over their life, than in the more fortunate climates, where it is left to the inclination and pleasure of the individual whether he will create for himself, apart from the outer and material, an inner world of heart and feeling. The German inhabitants of the three provinces consist in a certain sense of *one* family, or, at most, a few large groups of families, who, in spite of distinction of class and rivalry, are bound together by the bond of the same church and language, and by the same contest with political difficulties with which all are in equal measure threatened. As all know, love, or hate each other more or less, each takes a certain interest in the other. In spite of the political preponderance and exclusiveness of the nobility, a certain social equality prevails among the cultivated classes. It is not always easy to become a member of the dominant society — but whoever is once received into it, feels himself quickly and completely admitted to all its privileges. More closely bound together, more directly thrown on one another, men enjoy a sense of greater freedom and openness; as, knowing each other well and compelled to have mutual intercourse, a conventional style would be useless. From the nature of the matter, family life still plays its original part, and society is truly but an extended home. In the country espe-

cially, great hospitality prevails, and the utmost is done to make the stranger feel quickly and thoroughly at home, and to let him share the joys and sorrows, cares and interests of the family. The feeling of the social equality of the cultivated classes weakens the barrier formed by difference of property, and it is just in the influential circles that the wealthy and the less opulent live on an almost equal footing. The peculiar constitution of this social state of things, naturally, makes its effect felt in matters with which it has in itself nothing to do; the close connexion of persons places the things which are represented by them in close relation with each other; and it is, in many cases, hardly possible to draw the limits between their public and their private life. As all cultivated persons have equal interest in maintaining the supremacy of the national church, the old law, and the German language, in spite of the endless difficulties which stand in the way; every one is required, be his vocation what it may, to take part in the effort, and, in the midst of the most bitter contest of opposing interests, some points will still be found of union and co-operation. Throughout the lowlands, ever since the church disputes of 1840, the care which has been taken of the mental and moral culture of the peasantry, on whose future, it is felt, that the welfare of the whole country must depend, is the bond that holds together noble and citizen, clergyman and layman. Religious life exhibits in these circles especial soundness and freshness; in spite of the orthodox strictness of their dogmatic precepts, the clergy take the liveliest interest in the general culture of the age, and their position requires that they, the special teachers of the people, should at the same time regard themselves as the representatives and leaders of their intellectual life.

The larger cities, the life of which is of course of a

different nature, and which, on account of their uninterrupted relation to the centres of West-European civilisation, are by these more directly influenced, stand on the whole tolerably remote from the inhabitants of the country, both on account of the scanty means of intercourse, and from their small number. Thus in Curland and Livland there are only *two* larger cities; in the one, Riga and Dorpat, in the other, Mitau and Libau: Esthland contains only *one*.

Situated on the rocky southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, the antique town of Revel, spite of its similarity of structure to the older parts of Riga, presents a very different picture from the city of the Düna. The character of the north is here more decidedly impressed; the founding of the city by a Danish ruler, and the longer duration of the Swedish rule, have left perceptible traces behind; and the benefits of modern civilisation, which the richer Livland has already begun to share, find their way with difficulty to these more distant coasts. Swedish names and designations appear more frequently than in Livland; and even the dialect of the inhabitants betrays the influence of Scandinavian elements. While the remains of the Middle Ages are already disappearing in Riga, many of them are retained at Revel with unbroken exactness. The town is divided into two parts strictly different from each other — the city-proper, and the cathedral quarter; in this a castellan bears rule, and the common law holds sway; in the other the Town-council holds the chief authority, and the municipal law of Lubeck prevails; in the city trade and manufactures are carried on, and dwelling houses, workshops, and granaries lie mixed together; in the cathedral-precinct, which is at the same time the abode of the government officials and of the governor, the Esthnic nobles spend the winter months; and their dwellings claim, even at the present day,

to be regarded, not as houses, but as fortresses; and artizans alone, not merchants, are entitled to enrol themselves as citizens of this quarter of the town. Both these divisions have their respective suburbs, and it is jealously watched over that the boundaries of the respective rights and competence of each be strictly maintained and respected. The aristocratic element is much more developed in the constitution of Revel than in Riga; here also the administration and courts of justice rest jointly in the hands of a Town-council consisting of 18 members, and of the Guilds; but these latter exclude themselves from the outer world with an almost mediaeval strictness.

Only 12 (German, or about 50 English) miles east of Revel, lies Narva, the extreme outpost of German citizen-ship in the inhospitable Northern ice, and only in part belonging to the region of Baltic German civilisation. Founded, in the year 1223, by king Valdemar of Denmark, and conquered, in the year 1704, by Peter the Great, *six* years earlier than Livland and Esthland, Narva belongs, in an administrative respect, to the government of St. Petersburg; though its courts of justice are subordinate to the authorities at Revel. Situated two (German = 8 or 9 Engl.) miles from the sea-shore, the city is connected by the Narova with its harbor Hungerburg; but trade and prosperity are here still more rapidly retrograding than in Revel; the Neva capital of the empire lying 20 (Germ., not quite 90 Eng.) miles further to the east, is no longer inclined to tolerate the competition of a country-town, tho' only half a German one. While the western part of Narva still presents the picture of a mediaeval German city, in the east of the town the towers of the old Russian fortress, *Ivangorod*, stand conspicuously forth. Ivangorod is the Russian suburb of Narva, and the German patrician families that yet remain, with difficulty defend the old tradi-

tion of their ancestors against the encroachments from the east. The aristocratic constitution, with its self-replacing council and its Guilds, is an abomination and a folly in the eyes of the Russian immigrants; and it naturally meets with no support in the St. Petersburg Provincial government, to which Narva is subordinate. It was six years before the council could assert their disputed right to the election of the burgomaster, altho' the unequivocal wording of the law was on their side; only with the utmost effort have they maintained the superintendence of the schools and the official use of the German language; the *Narva'schen Stadtblätter*, which appears twice a week, is the only acquisition of which the German element can boast for years. Perhaps in the lapse of a few years or decades more, this also may have become legendary, and the Russian fort of Ivangorod be all that remains of the *German* town of *Narva!*

IV.

The starting-point of the liberal Reforms of Alexander II. was, as is well known, the abolition of serfdom in Russia. This important measure had at first no direct results in the Baltic provinces; for in these lands the personal freedom of the peasant had already been proclaimed a generation earlier. The abolition of serfdom, to which the Russ peasants had been subjected, obtained however a vast and far-stretching importance by its coinciding with a mighty movement of reform, and a passionate impulse for liberty, which had for centuries pervaded Russian society, alienated as it was from all participation in the state. A thousand desires, which had slumbered in the heart of the nation under the government of the Emperor Nicolas, were suddenly aroused, and vehemently demanded satisfaction:

the abolition of corporal punishment, the reform in the administration of justice, the remodelling of educational matters, hitherto checked in all freedom of action, the removal of the censorship of the press, and the limitation of the absolute sway of the bureaucracy by a national self-government, were all demanded in one breath. Supported by an upstart and youthfully pretentious press, freed from every barrier by the overthrow of the old system, Russ liberalism was keeping holiday in celebration of its victory. It was a period of universal enthusiasm and exaltation; every one hoped for a better and freer future; a nobler and humaner spirit seemed to rest alike on government and governed, and the tares of socialism which had been sown broadcast by the school of Alexander Herzen, it was hoped, might be eradicated with the help of the healthful state of feeling exhibited especially by the rural population. Not only did the Russ people celebrate their resurrection-feast, the Finlanders and Poles too shared the blessings of a humaner government: the former received again their old Swedish constitution, inhibited for years; and the kingdom of Poland obtained, in the Marquis Wyelopolski, a decidedly national minister, and was provided, at the same time, with a tolerably liberal form of provincial government: and all this with the approval of the liberal Russian press.

In no part of the Russian empire had the severities of the old system been more painfully felt than in the Baltic provinces: the seclusion from west-European civilisation, the military restriction of educational matters, the inexorable power of the censorship, the stagnation of intellectual life, and the furtherance of the churchly propaganda of the Greek clergy, had accustomed the Baltic lands to a dull submission to the law of iron necessity, and had stifled every hope of truly liberal reform: men had been glad enough to

be able to afford a kind of passive resistance behind the shelter of mediæval institutions; and they had lived almost universally in the belief that it was owing to the old ordinances, if a fragment of German life was yet remaining on the Baltic. The breath of the new liberal era, which had begun with the termination of the Crimean war, passed, almost without a trace, over the Baltic provinces. Any press of their own they did not yet possess, the Russian papers were not read — of the great revolution in the East they received more scanty information than was obtained in western Europe. The tidings of a total change of affairs, of liberal views in government circles, of the possibility of an internal reformation in conformity with the ideas of the age; all sounded too fabulous to be believed, much less to produce any effect. They had divested themselves too thoroughly of the idea of any change of system to accustom themselves to it, as rapidly as was necessary, for a salutary use of the conjuncture. The appropriate moment, therefore, for the salutary remodelling of the old institutions, and for the redress of the numerous abuses prevalent in the Baltic provinces, passed by completely unemployed. It was not till the year 1862 that the ice began to melt, and that a more lively mental movement began to be apparent; various new journals and periodicals arose quickly one after another, all advocating the necessity of a reform; at the Livonian diet of 1862, various proposals were brought forward for the remodelling of the constitution, for improvement in the administration of justice, for the surrender of the privilege of land possession, hitherto reserved to the nobility, and for closer union between the three provinces; and in the autumn of the same year there was an attempt made to bring about a general assembly of lawyers, and herein to obtain the instrument for the reforming of the administration of justice. It was long,

however, before the reform excitement obtained a broader footing, and influenced the leading circles. Not small was the number of those who feared in every change the loss of the dearest privileges of the land and the loosening of all those grounds of right which were the only guarantee for an independent autonomous constitution. The imprudence of radical fanatics, who threw themselves headlong into the stream of Russian liberalism, and were inclined to make common cause with Moscow democrats, was influential in confusing the public mind and in frustrating objects that were, and that must be, contended for. Added to this, the ultras of the Russ democracy attacked the tenor, as well as the mediæval form, of the Baltic constitution; and in one breath demanded the abrogation of the privileges of the nobles, democratic peasant diets, the annihilation of German influence, the abolition of the German language, and so forth. The clumsy organisation of the old municipal and knightly corporations, dismembered into classes and estates, mutually estranged as they all were from each other, was ever unfavorable to a speedy despatch of business, and to the energetic treatment of questions of importance; when the Governor-general, in the autumn of 1864, summoned deputies from all the cities and knightly bodies, to discuss the basis of new regulations for the administration of justice, a never-ending dispute arose as to the amount of concessions mutually required; and it needed the whole weight of energetic pressure from without before any kind of result could be obtained.

The internal difficulties which had to be overcome in these attempts at reforms, however, were indeed greater than foreign observers and critics could imagine; and the boundaries, between the mere prerogatives of classes and the valuable privileges of autonomy, were in some cases

exceedingly difficult to determine. According to old and chartered right, the noble, with the appropriate concurrence of the peasant-communities, chose the judge for the country, while the city judges were appointed by the magistrates. According to the principles of modern public law, the right of appointing a judge belonged to the state alone, and the same tribunals must be competent for all members of the state, without distinction of class or standing. The Baltic provinces were ready to sacrifice these special class tribunals and to appoint general courts of jurisdiction; but all parties desired to retain for the population, the right of electing the judge, in order to protect the land against the interference of foreign officials, unacquainted with the local circumstances and perhaps hostile to them. Was it, however, probable that the government would make allowance for these wishes? Were the conservatives utterly wrong when they asserted that as soon as the noble renounced his privilege of electing the judge, and was willing to share it with the other classes, the state would come in as his heir; as there was nothing said in the treaties and charters of a general right of election, on the part of the inhabitants of the land? And even if this did not take place, in what manner was the general right of election to be shared and exercised? Was the peasant, the special protegé of the government, to take part in it? If he had formerly chosen the judge of the commune, and the assessors of the district tribunals, it had been a comparatively easy task to perform. But how were 900,000 peasants to be consulted as to whom they desired to be president, or assessor, of the supreme court of justice? From the want of a common representative of the estates (in the Livonian diet, besides the Gentry, only the City of Riga was represented), there had even been great difficulty in right of election jointly

exercised by nobleman and citizens. The case had been similar in a number of other matters. When, in Riga, a remodelling, suited to the age, of the constitution of the city had been discussed, the Moscow journal demanded at once, that the predominance of the German element and of the German language should be broken down; and that no greater amount of self-government should be assigned to the Riga community than to the Russian towns. From the infant stage of development which the Russian cities had reached, the fulfilment of this demand would have been for the Baltic cities a step backward, which would have paralysed all the advantages promised by the reform. For more than three years has the project been pending of a new Riga constitution, without any confirmation of it on the part of the government the minister of the Interior considers it necessary to delay the confirmation of the plan, until a new general regulation has been passed with regard to all Russian towns.

These instances will suffice to give an idea of the inner and outer difficulties with which the Baltic efforts at reform have had to struggle during the last few years. But even before they arrived at this but provisional conclusion, the period had long slipped away for any reformation in the liberal, and, at the same time, German-conservative spirit in the Baltic provinces. The liberal and humane principles which had marked the early years of the reign of Alexander II. were exchanged, in consequence of the Polish and Lithuanian revolt in the year 1863, for an exclusive and national fanaticism, which knew but one aim; — namely, the annihilation of all non-Russian institutions in the western frontier provinces, and the establishment of a united and national Russian peasant state. Even at the time of the abolition of serfdom, an important part had been played by the doctrine of the

world-redeeming power of Russian communism, which was to take the place of personal property in the soil, and thus to solve the social question. When the government, in the year 1863, advanced to oppose the Polish Lithuanian insurrection, which was headed especially by nobles and Catholic clergy, and proceeded radically to reform the condition of the peasant in Lithuania and Poland, in order to draw the people into the interest of Russia by the abolition of all the burdens resting on them, the democracy had brought foward anew their gospel of the equal right of all peasants to the soil.

The Russian democracy considered it, after this, the task assigned to them by Providence, to annihilate the aristocratic west-European element in Lithuania and Poland as well as elsewhere; and, by the help of communism, to place all political weight in the rural population, and thus to Russianize them. Russia was destined, they said, in this way to solve the social question, and, by the aid of this solution, to conquer the world. In the name of this principle, war was formally declared against the Swedish element in Finland as well as against the German element in the Baltic provinces; Lettes and Esths were to be the lords of Livland, Esthland, and Curland; in league with them Russ democracy hoped to make its way over the ruins of the world of Germanic civilisation; and the bait with which the peasantry were to be allured into this plan was the promise of the general division of the land, not only to tenants and independent farmers, but also to serfs and day-laborers. Soon in the Moscow press began a formal crusade against Finland and the Baltic lands, which, in spite of various efforts on the part of the government to restore peace, daily assumed larger proportions. The democratic 'Moscwa' (the organ of the pan-Slavists and philo-Slavs) and the strictly national Moscow

journal vied with each other in calummiation and suspicion of the Baltic Germans, who were designated as separatist foes to the Empire, Teutonisers, and adversaries to the Greek orthodox church, and its Lettish and Esthnic followers. The answers and justifications of the Baltic press were either received in silence, or else misrepresented; and as the censorship of the press, which had been abolished in Moscow and Petersburg, was still in force in Riga, Dorpat, Revel, and Mitau, the contest was from the first exceedingly unequal. In May, 1864, the government was obliged to dismiss the general superintendent (bishop) of Livland, Dr. *Walter*, because he had excited a storm in the Moscow press, which had threatened to overwhelm the whole empire, by having preached a sermon at the diet advising a speedy Germanising of the Letti and Esthi; in the December of the same year, the governor-general of the three Provinces, Baron *Lieven*, sent in his resignation, after having been made an object of suspicion by the Moscow journal, on account of the amount of independent action which he had conceded to the Estates in matters relating to judicial reform. While 20,000 Lettish and Esthnish converts to the Greek orthodox church besought in vain the longed-for permission to return to Lutheranism, the Moscow press talked idly of the oppression of the Greek church in Livland; and, when the government allowed the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces freedom of confession with regard to children born in mixed marriages, they spoke in Moscow of an injury done to the most sacred interests of Russia and her church. In the spring of 1867, the Greek orthodox Archbishop of Riga and Mitau was removed to the Don, because he had insulted the Lutheran church in a pastoral letter to the members of his diocese, and had thereby put the whole country in commotion; the Moscow democrats never rested until a distinguished Livland

clergyman, Provost Doebner, had also been deposed from his office; in a Lettish church history, which had appeared many years before, he had naturally enough, tho' in an extremely moderate manner, blamed the worship of pictures; and for this he was *now* called to account.

In vain the government endeavored to curb the zeal of the Russian press, and to procure its just acknowledgment of the state of things in the Baltic provinces; in vain it proclaimed its aversion to violent interference with the Lutheran church; the agitation of men's minds once put in motion, and continualily inflamed by the events in Lithuania, raged more and more unceasingly, and seemed to know neither aim nor bounds. The Moscow journal had rendered important service at the time of the Polish insurrection, and the threatened intervention of the western Powers; and even in the highest circles it numbered numerous and zealous adherents and admirers; the lower bureaucracy was ruled altogether by the national democracy; the moderate statesmen who were at the head of affairs were few and isolated, and were fain to keep all straight with the parties actually working, if they would maintain themselves at all. The few efforts towards any salutary reaction in the spirit of moderation and humanity, which were more particularly made after Karakasov's attempt on the person of the Emperor, and which were occasioned mainly by the fact of the wide-spread socialist intrigues among the Russian youth, could indeed prevent further excesses, but could not touch the seat of the evil.

The pressure now exercised on the Baltic German element reached its height, however, only since the summer of 1867, when the Emperor paid a short visit to Riga. By resolution of the ministerial committee, an order, which had been published in the year 1850, and subsequently withdrawn as 'unfeasible', was brought to remembrance, and its execution

strictly enjoined on the state authorities in Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland, prescribing the use of the Russian language in the transaction of business, and in correspondence with other state-authorities; while the German tongue was to continue undisturbed in courts of justice and in matters of local jurisdiction. Altho' this order, which was in direct opposition to the chartered rights of the country, related only to three magistrates in each province, the consternation and excitement it produced were violent beyond measure. Late in the autumn of the same year, the Livonian diet met, in order to discuss the separate points of the impending new judicial constitution. It was resolved to go to the Emperor with an address, and to request him to restore the unlimited use of the German tongue in Livland. The Livland Marshal (*Landmarschall*) commissioned to present this address was officially informed by the Governor-general, in the December of the same year, that the Emperor would not receive it, and would under no circumstances accept an address from the diet. Four weeks afterwards (January 1868) Livland was smitten with a new and far heavier blow; the Livland civil-governor, Dr. *v. Oettingen*, a universally esteemed patriot and distinguished administrator, a man accurately acquainted with the condition and requirements of the country, owing to the many years during which he had held the office of *marshal*, was removed from his post, for having expressed himself in favor of the drawing up of the address, and thus placing himself in opposition to the governor-general; and he was replaced by a man who knew just as little of Livland as Livland did of him. Herr v. Oettingen's dismissal was all the more painfully felt, as he had protested most urgently against the introduction of the Russ language among the state authorities of the province, and had pointed out from a bureaucratic business point of view,

how the use of a difficult foreign language must injure the transaction of business and the interests of the state, and exhaust the energies of the officials mainly in matters altogether foreign to their office.

The dismissal of this deserving patriot was followed by new proofs of the hatred of the national party to the German character, and the hereditary right of the Baltic provinces. In the summer of 1868, the German governors of Curland and Esthland also were dismissed; the post of the former was occupied by a Petersburg official, who addressed the states in Russian on his first reception in the castle of Mitau; and the administration of Esthland was undertaken by a Russian, who had begun his career as a diplomatic agent in Central Asia. At the same time a Russian pamphlet appeared, full of poisonous bitterness, in which the well known philo-Slav Yuri Samarin, accused Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland of having been, for the last 20 years, systematically engaged in separating themselves from Russia, in rendering the country completely Germanised, and in preparing for a future alliance with Prussia. A few days after the appearance of this pamphlet, all the Russian papers (especially the principal Moscow journals) were eagerly engaged in analysing and discussing the subject of this accusation. And how great was the effect produced by it, not only on the Russian public generally, but also on the influential Petersburg circles, was speedily shewn when the Emperor returned from his summer sojourn in Germany to his Neva capital. It was privately communicated to the Baltic nobles that such numerous complaints against the loyalty and political trustworthiness of the Baltic provinces had reached his Majesty; that the Baltic gentry would do well to publish a special manifesto, declaring that their feelings towards the Tzar and empire remained unchangeably

the same; and about the same time it became known that in the office of the minister of the Interior a project was drawing up which aimed at the compulsory cession of the farms or homesteads (Gesindestellen) not yet sold to their tenants. These tidings were all the more alarming, as two unusually unfavorable harvests had seriously injured the agricultural condition of the provinces, and, in some parts, had produced a famine, little short of that in East Prussia. It was only with the utmost exertion that large and small proprietors had been able in some measure to fulfil their obligations to their creditors. If any forcible interference in agricultural matters were really to take place, the utter ruin, in fact the bankruptcy of most of the landed proprietors could with certainty be foreseen; for the mere report of such a disturbance in the existing relations of property, was sufficient to cause numerous mortgages to be called in, demands which were scarcely to be met, owing to the difficult conjuncture of the moment and the general want of capital arising from the famine. Added to this, there was ever the fear that the Petersburg reformers would not be satisfied with the compulsory change of tenancy into ownership, but would make the attempt to carry out, in pursuance of the great Russian agrarian system, a general division of the land among the peasant serfs. They had already seen, in the years 1866 and 1867, on a great portion of the Livland and Curland state-domains, the serfs of the Greek orthodox confeassion assigned portions of land on their promise of remaining steadfast to that church. The further extension of this system would have been identical with the fathomless confusion of all agrarian relations, and would also have ensured the undermining of the Lutheran church.

It was due to the intercession of the governor-general *Albedinsky*, and his predecessor, Count *Shuvalov*, that the

Moscow nationality party, in league with a part of the bureaucracy, desisted for the present from carrying out this plan. The Russian press, however, could not be prevented from adhering to the idea with tenacity, and daily advocated the necessity of a complete agrarian revolution in the Baltic provinces.

Since the autumn of 1868, especial zeal has been exhibited against the German character of the Baltic school-system. Two Russian schools have been opened in Riga, and the curator of the university of Dorpat, who is at the same time head of all educational matters in the provinces, has received a colleague, whose main duty is to consist in teaching the Russian language, and watching over its further extension. They also talk of placing the instruction of the Lettish and Esthnic population, which has hitherto been directed by the nobles and the clergy, with a view to its remodelling in a Russian sense, under the direct superintendence of the minister of education, and making instruction in the Russian language obligatory also in the national schools. In Riga, besides the old Lettish society, consisting chiefly of Curland and Livland clergy, a new Lettish literary society has been constituted, which has inscribed on its banner the approximation of the Lettish to the Russian element, and among its leaders may be seen the names of many well-known young Letts. Lastly, since the 1st January 1869, a Russian paper, the '*Riga-Vyästnic*', has appeared at Riga, and the first stone has been laid of a Russian theatre. A Dorpat professor, Dr. Schirren, who had answered the accusations of Samarin in a patriotic paper, was dismissed from his post in the summer of 1869.

Such is the present state of things. A just conception of the most recent events in the Baltic provinces is alone possible, when the pressure is estimated which the national

democratic party actually exercises over all classes of Russian society, in order to annihilate, in the frontier-provinces of the empire, all that is not specifically Russian. We should deceive ourselves if we imagined that the national party would be satisfied with their acquisitions hitherto, or had no more extensive plans, but would be contented, if the provincial governments, and the revenue- and domain-courts of Riga, Mitau, and Revel, henceforth sent merely Russian papers into the world. The accomplishment of this one measure would, it is true, be a heavy blow to the Baltic provinces; apart from all farther consequences, interference with the unity of the Baltic official language is identical with a defective and merely external treatment of the most important affairs, with a disturbance in commercial intercourse, that must affect all branches of public life, and with the appointment of numerous officials, foreign to the true requirements of the country: the national party, however, regard the revival of the *ukaz* of 1850 only as the preliminary for an entirely new system, the urgency of which has been advocated by them for years. This system has been so often discussed in detail by the journalists of Moscow and Petersburg, that it is clear to any one who is at all acquainted with the circumstances. It aims at nothing more and nothing less than the adoption of the very measures which, after the defeat of the insurrection of 1863, were resorted to in Poland and Lithuania.

Above all, it aims at a radical remodelling of agrarian matters. After the example of Lithuania, all the land occupied by peasants is at once to be transformed into peasant property. But the fanaticism of the Moscow radicals will by no means stop here. In order to isolate the Lettish and Esthish population in intellectual matters, and to cut them loose from German influence, Katkav, Aksakov, and others, de-

mand the *complete* removal of German schools. Hand in hand with a small party of Lettish journalists, they rave about the idea of an independent Lettish-Esthonian civilisation, similar to the Slavo-Russ; the language of instruction in the Baltic gymnasiums is not to be the German; the educated Lett or Esth is no longer to become German; but, in league with the Russians, the original inhabitants of the Baltic east coast are to emancipate themselves, and rise to a civilisation of their own. It is not so much the creation of Russian schools that is aimed at, as the annihilation of German ones. 'The Germans in Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland', it is said, 'play the same part as the Poles in Lithuania. They must be set aside, because they represent an independent aristocratic state of civilisation, and they are carrying the Letts and Esths along with them. It is the task of democratic Russia, with the help of communism, to overthrow the ruling class, and to establish a new democratic and truly Russian arrangement of affairs. In proportion to their true value and their importance as regards the German element, the various institutions on the Baltic coasts are branded as heretical, and reckoned more or less hostile; while the Moscow Journal (which, only since the Polish question, has made common cause with the democrats, and still holds views with respect to communism differing from the theory of the philo-Slavs, tho' it skilfully accommodates itself to the prevailing current of opinion) speaks with a certain reserve of the specific privileges of the nobles, and sees unwillingly the abolition of feudal regulations, such as the exclusive right of the noble to landed property); it pursues with decided and inexorable hostility all those institutions which are of advantage to the *whole* land and may be regarded as results of German influence, — none, however, with such embittered hatred as the Dorpat university. The

Russ democracy justly regards this university as the strongest bulwark of German culture and of Protestantism, and therefore spares no pains to undermine it or, at least, transform it into a Russianising institution. Exactly the same may be said of the Lutheran church in the Baltic provinces. If in this century of tolerance and enlightenment men would shrink from demanding the dragonnades of Louis XIV; secret and disguised attacks, however, on the continuance of the one and freedom of the other are not wanting. Unconcerned at the notorious fact that the Greek-orthodox Letts and Esths desire nothing so much as to be freed from the constraint which binds them to this communion, it is boldly proclaimed that the Greek church in Livland is heavily oppressed and afflicted by the fanaticism of Lutheran clergy; that it is necessary for the interest of the empire to break the political importance of this institution, and to degrade Baltic Protestantism into the position of a tolerated confession, the exercise of which may be indeed allowed in private, but which is not entitled to any independent existence. For the attainment of this object, the Moscow journals have made use of a tolerably skilful manoeuvre; they encourage the different sects which have recently appeared, especially in Curland; the Baptists, who have thronged in from Prussia, are fostered with particular predilection, and are furthered in their propagandist efforts.

With regard to religious affairs, a measure was passed, as we have mentioned, in the year 1865, which seemed to restore to the country, at least indirectly, its old freedom of conscience. The Greek orthodox clergy of Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland were privately admonished (a public declaration was avoided by the government on account of the fanaticism of the Russian clergy and the national party in league with them) no longer in mixed marriages to demand a declaration

that the children born from such marriages were to be brought up in the Greek orthodox church. This order met with a passive resistance on the part of the numerous Greek clergymen; that is, in cases where the bridal pair wished to take advantage of the abolition of the declaration, the marriage-ceremony was refused, and thus a pretext was afforded for the increase of concubinage. The intrigues of the national fanatics have recently succeeded in bringing about a decision which materially affects the humane and liberal intentions of the government decree of 1865. The Greek clergy may refuse marriage in all cases in which it can be proved, with regard to the candidates for marriage, that they do not regularly attend the Lord's Supper, that they frequent Lutheran churches, or testify any disinclination to their own church, and any inclination to the Lutheran church. As only those converts would naturally avail themselves of the right to bring up their children in the Lutheran church who would themselves rather be Lutherans, the practical importance of the abolition of the declaration is materially injured, especially in the rural districts, where the support and superintendence of the secular magistrates is rendered difficult. Such is the tolerance of that Russ democracy which assumes the appearance of aiding the government in the path of freedom and progress.

That, besides the Russ religion and agrarian legislation, the unsparing introduction of the Russ language is demanded in *all* the tribunals and administrative departments of the Baltic, is only the natural consequence of this system, which, in the name of 'seasonable progress and universal freedom and equality', strives after the annihilation of all organic life in a country which has been accustomed for *seven* centuries to regard German-Protestant civilisation ast he natural basis of its development. And these demands and

desires are expressed by the Russ democrats as openly and naïvely as if they were a matter of course. For the mere sake of theoretic uniformity of government, a sudden and complete breach with history is demanded in all departments of Baltic life; all the acquisitions of the past are to be struck out, all existing circumstances are to be put an end to. In a purely mechanical manner, it is reckoned that in Livonia, Esthonia, and Curland there are more Lettish and Esthish folk than German; and from this the conclusion is drawn that the former are called on to occupy the position which has hitherto been held by the latter. The German element which has been the vehicle of all civilisation on the Baltic shores, and has made a civilised land out of an inhospitable wilderness, and Protestants and cultivated men out of the heathenish hunters and fishermen of the Baltic coast; which has impressed the stamp of nationality on all the institutions that unite the inhabitants of these shores; this German element (on the ground of a theory, first started at the time of the Polish insurrection, and which even in Poland has borne no fruit), is all at once treated as a foreign, utterly unjustifiable intruder, of which it is scarcely known whence it comes, what it desires, and what it enjoins. Whereas the Russian press, in the year 1863, when it took the field against the Baltic provinces, made use of liberal phrases, and constantly asserted, that Russianising measures were in no wise aimed at, and that the Baltic German institutions had forfeited their right to existence only by their alienation from the ideas of the age; the democrats of the present day make no secret of the fact that their hostility does not rest on democratic, but on national instincts; indeed, the main argument adduced by the Moscow journal is just this, that the Baltic Germans assumed the appearance of becoming invincible by their adoption of a liberal provincial policy,

and that an end must be put to their doings, even before they have given up their old aristocratic prejudices.

How long the Baltic provinces will stand the siege of the democratic national party, which has already lasted for many years, is all the less to be perceived, as they have entered the contest before it was possible for them to undertake for themselves the reforms so urgently required, and thus to gather strength for the struggle. The present constitution of the Baltic territory affords the adversary indeed numerous points of attack; as the attack, however, was long ago decreed, and its true ground lies in the nature of the party-spirit that sways *Russian* society, the deficiencies in Baltic affairs are really only to be considered in so far as they impede the defence of the attacked: as a *casus belli*, they have long ceased to be regarded, and it is a delusion to imagine that the Livonians, Esthonians, and Curlanders could disarm their foe by an energetic work of reform. The reformation zeal of the Baltic liberal has long been paralysed by the consciousness that, happen what may, the satisfaction of the party that sways Russian public opinion can never be obtained, so long as the German Protestant traditions of the land are not renounced.

Only the simplicity of Radical democrats is, at the present day, allured by the pretext that the proceedings in the Baltic provinces are for the carrying out of liberal Russian ideas of reform. The greater number of the institutions which Young Russia desires to plant on Baltic-German soil have shewn that they afford no actual progress to the lands to be reformed. It would be superfluous to prove, to European readers, that the old Russ institution of Communism, and the abolition of the personal possession of the soil, are identical with the annihilation of all rational agriculture, and all zeal in husbandry; nevertheless the

maintenance and further extension of this 'new formula of civilisation' is one of the principle objects of the Moscow national party, who can bring no worse reproach against the Livonians, Esthonians and Curlanders, than that they are 'landless' people in their own land. Equally superfluous does it seem to discuss the advantages of Protestantism over the Greek orthodox church and the so called 'Byzantine civilisation': the one fact may suffice for all other arguments, that there is in the Baltic provinces a well-organised system of national education, conducted by Lutheran clergy; and that the Greek priests have been neither in the interior of the empire, nor in Livland, able to establish schools. Doubtless it is otherwise with regard to the modern administration of justice in Russia and the government of the provinces, which, theoretically, are in many respects superior to the corresponding institutions in the Baltic lands. But here, too a reform according to the Russian model would be an evil. The modern Russ provincial diets unite indeed *all* classes for the discussion of provincial interests, while on the western side of the Peipus lake, only the nobles and the city of Riga are represented in the diet; but the jurisdiction and authority of the Russian province are so limited that the introduction of the system into Livland, Esthland, and Curland would be almost synonymous with a renunciation of self-government. Added to this, according to the provincial statute, all the power rests in the hands of the peasant class, and this being numerically the strongest, the cultivated classes are kept down by it; and, for this reason, bureaucracy everywhere steps in as arbitrator. In the Russ press there is but *one* opinion as to the fact that the greater majority of the Russ provincial diets (always excepting Moscow and Petersburg, which are completely ruled by the nobles) have done as good as nothing; for the mass of uneducated deputies regard without interest the

work of the few *faiseurs*, who secure to themselves well-paid posts in the provincial administration, and kill time with fruitless discussions. Freedom has different forms at various stages of civilisation; where the masses take as yet no share in higher culture, the aristocracy of the educated must maintain its own inherent right, and the equal right of all is ingeniously perverted, so that the same want of freedom actually prevails, *i. e.* all are dependent on the bureaucracy. That the Livonians, Esthonians, and Curlanders, however, prefer to be dependent on their aristocracy rather than on uninformed functionaries of the Moscow democracy; that they, for this reason, fear to make as yet a truly ruling class of the Letts and Esths, who are as yet only on the way to civilisation, are scruples that are well grounded and which spring from a thousand experiences. As soon, however, as the unconditional extension of modern Russ institutions is set aside, every effort at reform in the Baltic provinces is met with infinite difficulties; for the national party will not allow (according to the Moscow journal) 'that the German autonomous prerogatives and privileges conceded to the Baltic nobility should be any more than the non-German, extended to all classes; this would be synonymous with complete Germanisation.'

Scarcely otherwise is it (as we have already said) with the reform in the administration of justice in the Baltic country. With regard to the matter of the law, we must above all remember that it rests on an exclusively German basis, and can consequently never be declared and interpreted by other than German, or German-educated, judges and jurists. In the Baltic provinces, where the highest *(third)* court of appeal is the Petersburg senate, we have known, for a long time, what it means to be sentenced according to Livonian law by judges who know nothing of common law. Is it then to be wondered at, if

the Baltic provinces demand, above all, a reform in the administration of justice, which may secure to them judges who are acquainted with their own law, and with their own language? Would it have any sense and reason, if calamities which might perhaps be endurable in the highest court of appeal were allowed free entrance into all three courts? Or, in order to arrive at a better system of justice, is the existing matter of the law to be set aside, and the *corpus juris* exchanged for the Russian law book, the *Svod' Zakonov*? And this must actually occur if the Estates of the Baltic provinces voluntarily, for the sake of mere theory, give up the right of choosing their judges. The mental impulse and motives which urge man to exert his efforts, and which impart to him the capacity for restless reaching and striving forth beyond the limits of the power he has hitherto possessed, cannot be removed at pleasure, like the spring wheels of a machine, and replaced by new ones. A race which has for nearly a thousand years pursued its course under a German influence cannot, even tho' it might desire it, at once become different, and change its old ideals for Slavonic and Byzantine models. Its delight in work may be embittered, it may be crippled in its growth and strength; but it is impossible to transplant it like a tree, or to compel the produce of a new kind of fruit by compulsory grafting. If this experiment is intended to be tried at once in a whole forest of races, if Finland Swedes, German Livonians, Esthonians, and Curlanders, and Lithuanian Poles, are, in the twinkling of an eye, to be transformed into Russians, and the attempt is to be made to level a whole range of aristocratic upward tendencies and aspirations towards culture, such an undertaking seems like pure Don Quixotry, which, sooner or later, must bitterly revenge itself on its authors.

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[1] [illegible]

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